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O'Connor

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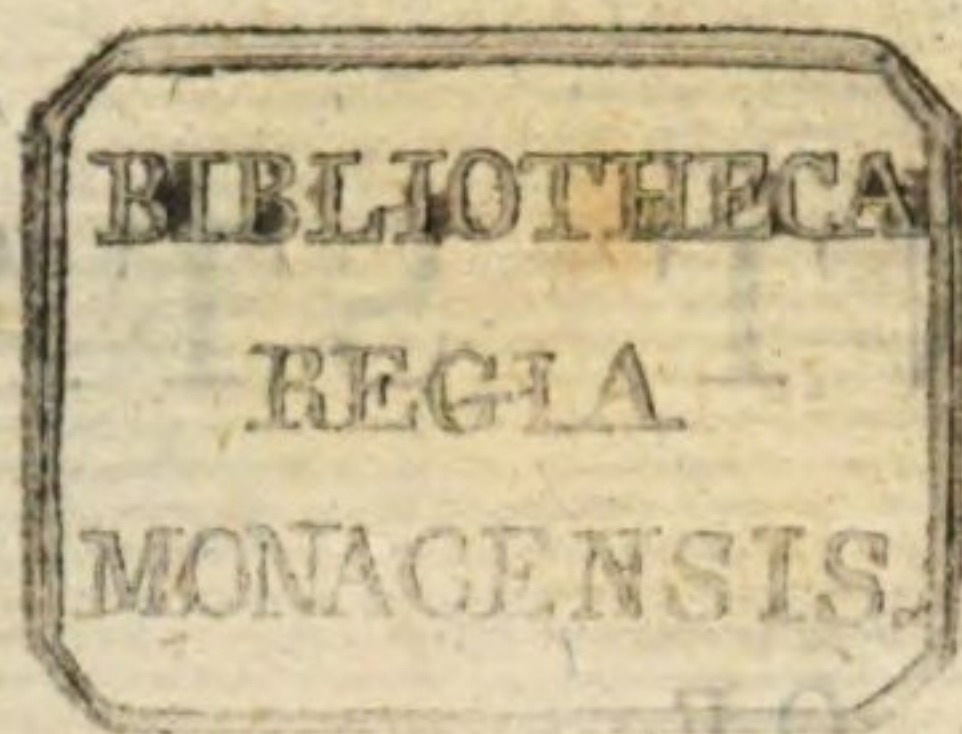
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THE
PRESENT STATE
OF
GREAT-BRITAIN.

CHAPTER I.

Of the system Great-Britain pursues towards other nations.

NATIONS like individuals may be said to bid fair for peace and tranquillity, when, with sufficient strength to make their independence respected, they employ their industry and their means to provide for their wants and to add to their enjoyments, without injury or injustice towards any other people; while nations, who erect political systems in opposition to the INTERESTS and in violation of the RIGHTS of others, must be in a state of violence and war with the rest of the world.

Guarding these self-evident truths in mind, we have but to detail the principles upon which the power and wealth of Great-Britain are founded, and by which they are now more than ever sup-

ported, to be convinced, that the entire structure depends, not only upon making the interests of every other nation subservient to her own aggrandizement, but that the precarious existence of her bloated power and wealth depends upon her being able to impede or to crush the manufactures and commerce of the other nations of Europe; to the end, that the relative superiority she now possesses may not be reduced to an equality, or perhaps to an inferiority, to those nations whose natural and improvable advantages are equal or superior to her own.

Rome has given us an example of the extent to which dominion may be carried by exacting tribute from the nations she had vanquished; but it has been reserved for Great-Britain to unite the passion for domination with the insatiable spirit of mercantile exaction; doubly excited, her progress in every quarter of the globe has been prodigious, while the instability of the distant and widely-scattered conquests she has made, and the vast revenue she draws from them, are in proportion to the expence and difficulty with which she defends them.

An Island at one extremity of Europe, with a population of scarcely eleven millions, she bestrides the other three quarter of the earth; one

foot on the vast continent of America, the other upon the Indies, she consigns Africa to eternal barbarism and slavery, that the produce of the Antilles may swell the list of her imports; collecting annually in kind, by a mixt system of commerce, exaction, plunder and tribute, to the amount of $17 \frac{1}{2}$ millions from the produce of the different nations she has conquered, which she deals out to the nations of Europe at the exorbitant rate of a monopoly price; making those which are territorially free, but maritimately enslaved, feel a part of the injustice she uses to those unfortunate countries over whose liberties she exercises an untrouled dominion. Lord Chatham first gave activity to this spirit of mercantile conquest, “ attaching ”, as Helvetius observed, “ the wings of the Eagle to the body of a sparrow ”.

If ever nation had claims on another for tenderness and good treatment, America had on Great-Britain. — The same customs, the same language, the same rites, the same laws, and the same blood running through their veins, but the passion for domination and wealth was superior to them all. From the moment American industry produced a surplus for commerce, the hand of monopoly seized on the whole; every part of this surplus produce which could serve the manufactures

of England, she rigidly restricted to her own ports; while every other part that came in competition with her own produce, she as strictly excluded. But studious that the part she excluded should not find its way to the market of any nation capable of being a rival in manufactures, the Americans were interdicted the whole of the markets of Europe north of Cape Finisterre, that is, the whole of the markets of the manufacturing nations of Europe, and at the same time prohibited from purchasing any manufactures but those of Great-Britain; she monopolized one part, she excluded another. She deprived America of Europe and Europe of America. From oppression she marched on to oppression, and attempted to tax America, at 3000 miles distance, by a parliament of Great-Britain, where those Americans, who brought with them the inheritance of freemen, who obey no law and pay no tax that is not ordained by those they depute, had not a single representative; an inheritance which every Briton claims as his birth-right, but which in the heart of another his government brands with the name of rebellion.

Deaf to the claims of justice, and that the justice which the child implores at the feet of his parent; deaf to the calls of nature and the ties of blood, mercenaries were hired in Germany, the

tomahawk was subsidized, and Britain was drained of her youth to enslave and butcher their American brethren.

The issue teems with instruction for Britain, for America, and for all Europe : on the one hand Britain may learn, that neither fire nor sword, nor the mercenary, nor the savage, nor the scalp, can give stability to a system of conquest maintained against the interests of Europe ; and on the other, by observing, that the commerce she now exercises with America free, upon the principles of perfect equality, is infinitely more lucrative than the commerce she formerly forced on America enslaved, she may learn that the destructive and ruinous wars she has made in support of this system, the blood she has lavished, the treasures she has wasted, and the immense load of debt that now weighs her down, are all minus quantities in the politics of true national greatness.

America, instructed in the blessings of freedom, and in the evils which grow out of enslaving others, cannot fail to hand down that liberty her valor has won, unimpaired to her latest posterity ; while Europe intire, from comparing the little she has gained by the discovery of that magnificent continent, as long as it remained enslaved under the system of Britain, with the immense benefits she

derives from her commerce now free, will learn to appreciate the loss she sustains, as long as the East and West Indies, these fairest portions of the earth, remain under mercantile chains.

But experience is lost on Great-Britain. Blind to instruction, blind to the instability of distant and widely extended conquests, blind to the enormous expence, and to the imminent dangers attendant on systems, founded in direct opposition to the interest of the rest of the world, she has extended her system of mercantile conquest over Hindostan, where, in the two provinces only of Bengal and Bahar, she holds, in an undivided sovereignty, thirty two millions of civilized people!

By this extension of conquest she has laid the nations of Europe under great and degrading contributions in more ways than one: not only the British government has assured to the joint stock company, to whom all India is subject, and to the West India proprietors, a monopoly price from the nations of Europe for all the East and West India produce they re-export, but by making these East and West India commodities subject to a tax on re-exportation, the British government exercises the right of taxation over all Europe.

Can it have escaped the observation of the nations of Europe, in this age of enquiry, how

baneful, how destructive this enhancement of price, in the produce of the East and West Indies, must prove to their industry, and what a vast diminution of their enjoyments? Can Great-Britain imagine that the nations of Europe are insensible to the loss they sustain by this monopoly, this exaction, this degrading taxation, by which a considerable portion of the labor of their hands and the sweat of their brows is made to exchange but for one half its real value? Or can they but feel indignant at finding that, taxed by the parliament of England, they are paying tribute to maintain that navy which shackles their commerce? Yet humiliating and oppressive as are these losses to which the nations of Europe are exposed from this monopoly, exaction, and degrading taxation, they suffer a much heavier loss from the vast diminution in the quantity of East and West India produce imported under this system, to what would be imported, if commerce was free.

All political writers agree, that joint stock companies (1) is the most ruinous and wasteful mode

(1) Joint stock company, is one where each member subscribes a certain sum, and is bound for that sum only, sharing the profits and losses in proportion to the amount of his subscription. Not one in five hundred of the subscri-

by which nations can carry on commerce ; and the bankruptcy of all, upwards of sixty, that have been established in Europe , supports the opinion ; and if all were taken together , their waste and extravagance , their devastation and plunder , as well as the extent of their power , would vanish , in comparison with those of the british company , that now lords it in India.

It is also allowed, that the work done by slaves is infinitely more costly than the work done by freemen. While the nature of the monopoly to which the Antilles are subject, keeps the quantity produced far below the quantity demanded for the consumption of Europe, whereby the nations of Europe are kept considerably understocked with the produce of the East and West Indies ; all the waste and extravagance, all the desolation and vandalism of a mercantile despotism over an immense population of the most fertile countries in the world, where the manufacturing art is the oldest, and where it is carried to the highest degree of perfection ever yet know, all the evils of a stunted

bers know how the affairs of the company are conducted, and those few to whose hands they are committed, have the most powerful inducements to sacrifice the general interests to their own private views.

market, and the pestiferous effects of monopoly and slavery, fall on the nations of Europe.

If even this monopoly of all India's produce had been restricted to Great-Britain and Ireland, it would still be a destructive monopoly for the rest of Europe, in as much as it would exclude the capital of all other commercial nations from being employed in this distant trade; a trade for which the whole capital which Europe could spare from her agriculture, manufactures, home and near foreign trades, would be insufficient; but as the price of India produce is in proportion to the extent of the capital, and of the competition which enters into the trade; if the loss would be so considerable, even if the monopoly was confined to Great-Britain and Ireland, how much more considerable must that loss be, when the monopoly is narrowed to a destructive joint stock company, between whose capital and that of the whole of Great-Britain and Ireland, there is as much difference, as between the waste and extravagance of a joint stock company, and the thrift and good management of private adventurers.

If we would estimate this latter loss, we must figure to ourselves this mild and amiable people rescued from their present destructive oppressors,

and left to their customs, upon which their arts and their industry are founded; we must figure to ourselves the commerce of India and China, to which the commerce of India is indispensable, thrown open to the competition and capital of the nations of Europe; we must figure to ourselves the Antilles, rescued from a culture by slaves, under the management of agents employed by proprietors residing in Europe; means so wasteful and costly, that without a monopoly it could never repay the expence; and taking into our view, in what general use the produce of the East and West Indies has grown all over Europe, we might form some idea of the increased enjoyments, and the mutual incentives to industry that would accrue to Europe and India, if the commerce of these countries was free, of all which the system of Britain deprives them.

This anti-European, this anti-social system of monopoly and exclusion, by which Britain has aggrandized her commerce, is the same by which she strives to promote her manufactures, the same uniform disposition to exalt her own by the depression of those of all other nations; upon the principle, that the production of raw materials does not afford such considerable profits as manufactures, by not admitting of the same extensive

abridgement of labor, by an equally extensive division in the work, or the same extensive aid by the intervention of machinery.

Upon this principle, all her laws, and every effort of monopoly, are directed towards drawing raw materials from the rest of the world, and restricting the exportation of any part of her own, in any state short of the complete manufacture; forcing her manufactures into every other market, and excluding the manufactures of every other nation that could come in competition with her's; — it was upon this principle she sacrificed the whole of the industry of America and Ireland.

As far as she can undersell other nations by superior skill, a more extensive division of labor, better machinery, more extensive capital, longer credits, greater spirit of enterprise, any superiority in her system of administration, she would be a common benefactor to Europe, as far as she purchased the rude produce of other nations that had not the capital nor the skill to work it, she would be the cultivator of these countries and the benefactor.

But when she prevents the other countries of Europe from getting the materials for manufactures which the Indies produce, except at a monopoly price, when, instead of encouraging the

industry of Europe by an exchange of the produce of India at a low price, such as a general competition would furnish, for their materials and provisions, she discourages that industry, by giving the produce of India in exchange at a monopoly price, still farther enhanced by the degrading, insulting taxation, here she changes the generous character of benefactor for the ignoble name of oppressor.

When she endeavors to promote her manufactures on the principle of excluding those of all nations, and strives to make all nations take her's; when she tries to get from other nations those raw materials which she keeps from them by the most barbarous and cruel laws (1); when, on these anti-social principles, she endeavors to be the sole manufacturer for all Europe, and that no part of Europe shall manufacture for her, she destroys these best and surest bonds of peace that proceed from a commerce, generally and reciprocally beneficial, and establishes one of the most

(1) The exporter of a sheep, a lamb, or a ram, for the first offence forfeits all his goods for ever, suffers a year's imprisonment, and then has his left hand cut off in a market town on a market day, to be there nailed up; for the second offence to suffer death. Such are the means by which Britain prevents the exportation of her own raw materials.

fruitful grounds for jealousy, enmity and war, among the nations which form the great family of Europe.

It is upon this narrow, shop-keeping policy, that England has formed all her amities and all her enmities; the nations which trade with her on her terms, that is, the advantage on her side, she calls her friends; those who disdain these unequal conditions; conditions which a nation imposes on those she has vanquished, she calls her natural enemies. It is not the superiority and cheapness of her manufactures of which Europe has to complain, that would be to complain of the greatest possible blessing an industrious nation could procure for those that surround her; but it is the anti-social system; it is the system which excludes and will suffer no exclusion; the system which exacts every thing and yeilds nothing of what it exacts; a narrow, selfish, irreciprocal principle, upon which she attempts to support her superiority, and to perpetuate the inferiority of all other nations; a system which, if universally pursued, would destroy all commerce among nations. It is of this that all Europe with justice complains; it is this system which converts that which should be the surest bond of mutual peace, amity, prosperity and happiness, into the most

abundant and envenomed source of mutual loss, expence, hatred and war (1).

The act of navigation forms another part of this system, and is in perfect conformity with the rest of the structure. By this law, the trade to what she calls her colonies and plantations (a term which now embraces vast portions of the earth) and the whole coasting trade of Great-Britain and Ireland, are restricted to vessels of which the owners, masters, and three fourths of the mariners, are british subjects, on pain of forfeiture of ship and cargo. — A variety of the most cumbersome articles, can be imported into Great-Britain in british vessels only, or in vessels of which the owners, masters and three fourths of the crews, are of the country which produces the goods imported. — A variety of the most bulky articles cannot be imported even in british vessels, except from the country where the goods have been produced. — Salt fish, whales fins and bones, oil and

(1) The history of the wars, alliances, and enmities of Great-Britain, fully prove, that this system of forced manufactures generates war. The refusal of the french government to permit british vessels to force british manufactures into France, is set forth as one of the grounds for this war by ministers in their manifesto, and most adroitely employed to inflame the minds of the people.

blubber not caught by british vessels and cured by them, are subject to pay double aliens' duty, when imported into Great-Britain.

The object of this law is to promote the manufacture of british ships and sailors, by excluding the ships of all other nations from any trade from which Great - Britain can exclude them, and to promote the carrying trade; but like all anti-social attempts, it defeats its own end; this act is a sacrifice of her commerce in the attempt to augment her shipping and sailors, and on the absurd principle formerly held, that the carrying trade, which gives least encouragement to national industry of all others, was the best, because it brought most money into the country. It is in perfect unison with the rest of the system, and was passed in the same anti-social disposition, and like all the rest, if universally adopted, would abolish the intercourse of nations.

To complete this anti-social, this war-system, in all its parts, has Britain usurped the dominion of the seas. This was absolutely necessary to support the principle upon which the whole fabric is founded. She has reduced the rights of the ocean to a code of her own passing, and erected a tribunal, where (party and judge), she confiscates the vessels and cargoes of the independent

nations of Europe for traversing the sea, the commonage and high-way of the mercantile world.

Thus has Britain formed a system for her own aggrandizement, in direct opposition to the interests of every other nation : a system which I shall shew by and by, costs her more than it is worth ; is attended with infinite danger, and, on the mere principle of gain, is far from being as profitable to Great-Britain, as a system founded on the obvious interests of the rest of the world ; while her system is one which every liberal man, and every liberal nation, must condemn, on the plain principle, that if all other countries were to adopt the like, all commerce and intercourse between nations must be destroyed.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER II.

Of the instability of the british system of mercantile conquest.

FOR some time the eyes of the world have been attracted towards this political system ; and to decide how far its structure was stable , has employed the talents of the most celebrated orators and writers ; in proportion as her millions are lavished by hundreds , her debts increasing without measure , and her taxes accumulating beyond all example , the british ministry , and those who find an interest to think with ministers , have been loud in extolling british resources as inexhaustible ; their opponents have been as loud in denouncing the present course of Great-Britain as leading to inevitable and speedy destruction ; while the public in general , who are not deeply versed in the abstruse science of political œconomy , wearied with hearing premature predictions of impending destruction , know not what opinion to form of the *inexhaustibility* of british resources.

Hitherto the subject has been treated, as if some millions more or less in the sums borrowed, in the produce of the taxes, or in the imports and exports, decided the question; but assuredly to bring the proof home to a conviction, it is necessary to take a more enlarged view of the subject, not to confine our enquiry to the examination of the state of the resources of Britain, but as she has thought fit to erect her system in direct opposition to the interest of the rest of the commercial world, extend her conquests in every quarter of the earth, appropriate the produce of the most favoured and fertile countries in the world, — erect a monopoly, and impose her taxation, on the independant nations of Europe, — assuredly the relative state of these nations must enter for much in the discussion, of how far England shall be able to triumph, and how far the nations of Europe shall be forced to submit.

It is usual with those who treat of the resources and finances of Great-Britain, to take her peace establishment for the basis of their enquiries and calculations; but from the view we have taken of her system, and of the principles upon which it is founded, it is obvious, that its nature is essentially a system of war, so truly so, that the peaces she has made since 1688, cannot be regarded but

as so many truces (1) to enable her to resuscitate her means and her force to recommence war.

As the independent nations of Europe have advanced in power and wealth, and as Great-Britain has extended her system of mercantile conquest, in an exact proportion has her defence become more difficult, and her wars more expensive. The history of Great-Britain since the revolution of 1688 is in perfect conformity with these consequences, which so naturally flow from the principles upon which the system is founded. Since the american revolution, the defence of the british dominions, and the expence that attends them, have been greatly extended, and since the french revolution they have been increased in a still greater proportion.

In the 87 years which followed the revolution of 1688, during which period England was engaged in four wars of 37 years duration, the debt she contracted was but 139 millions (2), and the interest but L. 4,400,000, whereas in the remain-

(1) Read the debates at the late peace in the house of lords, when the members, who were ministers, declared, that they made peace for the purpose of husbanding the resources until a favorable opportunity should offer of renewing the war.

(2) The amount of the debt and interest at 1775.

ing 26 years to 1801, though she was engaged but in two wars of 16 years duration, the debt has been increased to 560 millions, and the interest to 25 millions; an augmentation so enormous and rapid, that after the largest allowance which can be taken for the increase of her riches, there must remain a vast disproportion between them and her expences; and in the last nine years, the late minister has expended 340 millions, and loaded the nation with 16 millions to pay the interest. One naturally asks can any nation support such an expenditure? Does it not inflict a mortal wound on her industry? Must it not prove fatal in its consequences to her future prosperity? To answer these questions, leads to a serious enquiry.

When the late minister expended 223 millions (1) of the national capital in the short space of nine years, he took this vast portion of the sacred fund which paid the wages of the industrious, who reproduced the whole capital annually, together with a profit of 15 per cent, to expend it in war, not only without reproducing one shilling of profit,

(1) I prefer stating the sum he really received in sterling value to the greater sum in which it was funded of 340 millions.

but without leaving a trace of the 223 millions behind; capital and profit equally, irrevocably squandered; — when we consider that this national capital is the fund which gives bread and employment to all those classes who live by reproductive industry; that the produce of agriculture, manufactures and commerce, is all in exact proportion to the amount of this fund; and that it is the state of this fund, abundant, or scanty, which regulates the happiness or misery, the industry or idleness, and in an essential degree the national morals, we may form some idea of the depth of the wound Great-Britain has received by the expenditure of 223 millions of her national capital.

Taking the profits produced by this capital at 15 per (1) cent, the ordinary rate, while employed productively, before it fell into the hands of the minister, this second evil forms a loss of more than 33 millions annual profits, to be deducted from the income of England.

To pay the interest of these 223 millions the minister has entailed on the national wealth, diminished by these 223 millions, diminished by these 33 millions of profits, 16 millions of taxes

(1) This is the rate at which Mr. Pitt has valued profits when he imposed his income tax.

to pay the interest , making in all 223 millions capital , 33 millions profits taken irrevocably from the national capital and from the national profits , and 16 millions of taxes imposed for ever upon the remaining diminished wealth of Great-Britain.

As it is the proportion which the national capital bears to the number of the reproductive industrious which regulates the rate of wages ; by the sudden expenditure of so vast a portion of the capital as 223 millions , it is obvious that the whole of the reproductive tradesmen of Great-Britain , that class on whom her wealth and prosperity depend , must experience a serious reduction in the state of their condition ; several thousands have been thrown out of employment , while those who remain must feel their wages diminished at both ends ; diminished in the money price , and diminished in the quantity of subsistence that money will produce , from the rise in the price of every article from the diminution of 33 millions of produce , and from the imposition of 16 millions of taxes.

It is the superiority of capital over the rest of the world which gives Great-Britain a decided advantage in agriculture , in manufacture and in commerce. By the extent of her capital she has been able to give longer credits , to establish a more

complete division of labor, to construct more perfect machinery ; while the low rate of profits, the necessary consequence of great capital, enabled her to undersel all nations where capital was less abundant and profits were higher ; if these be the vast benefits which arise from abundant capital, the expenditure of this vast portion has struck at the root of them all.

No man versed in political æconomy will dispute these consequences which I have deduced from the expenditure of these 223 millions, and the loss of these 33 millions of profits ; but it may be imagined, upon a superficial view of the effects resulting from the increased 16 millions of taxes, that it causes no loss, or, as it has been some times erroneously reasoned, that it is an exchange of property from one set of men to another.

The taxes paid by the mass of the people are the only ones that are considerably productive. It is found in finance, that the rich are too few in number to furnish a great contribution ; it is therefore that the taxes on commodities in general use with the people which form the bulk of taxation. Porter, beer, sugar, spirits, tobacco, tea, soap, salt, candles, leather, and such like, are the taxes which fall most heavily upon the lower and middling people ; but it is neither the lower nor

middling classes that are in a state to make loans to the government. Thus these 16 millions are torn from the hard hand of the poor and the industrious, to be paid over to the rich annuitants: it is a weight superadded to an already overcharged burden, on the backs of the heaviest loaded people, of which the world has ever had an example.

Before this capital fell in the hands of the minister, it was productively employed, and the owners were paid their interest from a part of the profits which pressed upon no one; but when the minister spent it, the 223 millions of capital and the 33 millions of profits vanished for ever; but now the owners receive their interest from taxes on the *remaining* produce of the national industry; by which additional taxes the price of all sorts of manufactures are raised, producing the same effect as the inclemency in the seasons or the sterility of the soil.

It may be asked, if these are the inevitable effects of these evils, why have not the consequences been more rapidly fatal? I answer, the day of the wound is not the day when it stiffens. A great part of these industrious productive hands thrown out of employment have enlisted in the army and navy, in the dock yards, fortifications, or in some of those several unproductive employ-

ments, to which war gives occasion. For the rest, if we would know the miserable condition to which this destruction of so much of the national capital has reduced them, we must not only read the volume which contains the long list of british taxation, to which the imagination of man cannot conceive an addition, but we must follow the tax-gatherer into the heart of their dwellings; we must accompany these myrmidons in their maraudings; we must see them snatch the morsel from the hand of the mother; we must see the looks which pass in a family where famine has taken its place at the board.

To those who, adding insult to injury, talk of the prosperity of Great-Britain, and of her inexhaustible resources, I answer, go like me and visit these scenes of distress; like me witness every thread that links the hearts of families torn to agony; like me draw the source of your knowledge from these tax-gatherers; see these men, yes, even these men, whose hearts have been steeled with calosity, shed iron tears in recounting the horrors to which their employment gives rise to every hour.

With these melancholy proofs indelibly fixed on my heart, to those advocates of the ruin and misery their conduct has brought on their country, I answer, there is more real distress and misery in

England, than in any other nation in Europe. I knew her when her people enjoyed more of the comforts of life than had ever fallen to the share of any other people that ever existed; and it is that which redoubles the poignancy of her sufferings now: the comparison of what she is, with that which she was; that comparison, which is the true measure of human adversity, sinks deep in the heart. Alas! the proofs are too many, and the voice is too loud that attests it: witness the fund for the poor rates, now at the enormous amount of 6,000,000 (1), which is wholly insufficient to maintain the distressed of this once happy people, in even the humiliating condition of paupers; witness those numberless private subscriptions; witness the descriptions given in the public papers by those benevolent men who have attempted to stop the torrent of suffering and misery that has overwhelmed this once prosperous nation.

Let ministers attempt to disguise how they may; let them try to drown the cries of an afflicted people by the mercenary shouts of mock exulta-

(1) Sir Morten Eden estimated the amount of the poor rates at 6,000,000 in 1796. I have taken it at that sum, though it is well known that it has been considerably augmented since that period.

tion; the man who in nine years squanders 223 millions of that sacred fund which cherishes industry, 33 millions of profits, and imposes 16 millions of taxes, inflicts a wound in his country, no art can heal in the rankling of these times.

The sombre and melancholy effects of dissipation may for a moment be brightened by the meteor blaze of the enormous expenditure which the war has occasioned; but it is on the return of peace, when the glare from the expenditure of these millions shall be extinguished *for ever*; when the half million of soldiers, sailors, etc. who are now employed by the war shall have returned to demand employment; when they shall find the wages fund squandered; when they shall find the whole nation converted into an alms-house, and the industrious into beggars; while the price of every necessary of life shall have been doubled; it is then they will see the horrors of their situation.

Hence it has been found, that the return of peace after those vast expenditures of the national capital, far inferior to the present, has been attended with the most poignant distress. But there are circumstances peculiar to this war, which I shall notice hereafter, that must make the return of peace distressing to the people beyond all example, and more than difficult for the government; circums-

tances which will perhaps account for the renewal of the war more satisfactorily than all ministers have published.

X If, however, not a single one of these fatal consequences had flowed from such an unexampled expenditure of the national capital, in such a short space of time, there are others which more than sufficiently disprove the indecent vauntings of the *inexhaustibility* of british resources; among the foremost of which must rank the failure of the bank of England to pay its notes in cash when presented; which, generalized as it has been by act of parliament, is now to all intents a national bankruptcy.

This has been a delicate subject for all those who have taken the side of *inexhaustibility*: a subject which, it is clear from (1) what has fallen from the late minister, he did not understand. Such a capital omission may suit those who think that to skin over a wound is to heal it; but to those who think that to judge how far it is mortal, it should be probed to the bottom, a more serious investigation must appear indispensable.

(1) When Mr. Pitt in his speech on the 27 of november, 1800, stated that exchequer bills bearing a premium, were a proof that the paper currency was not at a depreciation, what can we think of his knowledge on this subject?

CHAPTER III.

Failure of the bank of England and its consequences.

W H E N by order of council the ministry on the 26 of february 1797, forbid the bank of England to discharge its notes in gold or silver, and which has been since passed into a Law, the whole *paper currency* of the nation has been deprived of the only means of ascertaining, from time to time, how far the emission of paper has been increased, beyond what the business of the nation acquired to circulate its transferable property.

As long as the Law existed, which obliged every bank and every individual to pay the amount of their notes in gold or silver when presented, or in case of failure to be declared bankrupt, the nation possessed the means of ascertaining that the quantity of paper in circulation did not exceed the quantity necessary to circulate its property, but from the 26 of february 1797, the nation has been at sea without rudder or compass, *with the whole of her property at stake in the venture.*

When the late minister took this truly desperate

step, and passed the rubicon, to inflict on his country the most inevitable, and universally ruinous bankruptcy that was ever sprung under the feet of a credulous nation, he adopted the most fascinating and certain means that the mind of man could devise, to insure his country's destruction: a destruction which must be accomplished by a combination of the most active, uniform and powerful propensities of the human heart, without one single stay to restrain them.

It is now the interest of every banker, and of every trader who deals in the issue of paper (and I know of none that do not) to increase it *ad infinitum*, for this plain reason, that as he gets or saves 5 per cent by every hundred pounds he can send into circulation on his own credit, the more he issues, the more he gains; accordingly, we see that the bank of England (the most respectable and the only one that has been obliged to publish the amount of its notes) which had issued but L. 8,640,250 on the 26 of february 1797, had issued (1) L. 16,108,616, on

(1) Since writing the above the state of the bank of England notes in circulation has been published, by which it appears, that there were to the amount of L. 17,932,930 in circulation on the 25 november 1803, being an increase of near two millions since february last. The reader will carry this in his mind as he goes along, and apply it. — He

the 1st. of february 1803.—Though $7\frac{1}{2}$ millions (1) addition to the circulating medium, in so short a time, may not appear in all its force to those who do not distinguish between the vast disproportion which exists in every country, between the circulating medium, and the property circulated, yet when it is considered how very small a sum of circulating medium circulates an immense mass of transferable property, how often the same piece of money is capable of transferring different and distinct portions of property in a single day, some estimate may be made of the amount of the transferable goods that may be circulated, even *directly*, by these $7\frac{1}{2}$ millions, I say directly, for indirectly the effect is prodigious.

By the Law, all other dealers in the issuing of paper are exempted from paying in cash, provided they discharge their obligation in notes of the bank of England; hence the stock which used to be kept in specie, is now kept in these national bank notes; though there is an essential difference between specie and bank notes: the difference between one bank note and another is matter of opi-

will appreciate it in its direct effect, and what is still more in its indirect effect.

(1) Now increased to $9\frac{1}{2}$ millions.

nion, when neither are payable in cash. A man will often go to a bank to get cash for a note, but he will seldom take that trouble to get one note for another (1); hence a very small amount of bank of England notes will enable all the other bankers in Great-Britain to circulate a great quantity of theirs.

At a time when banks were obliged to pay their notes in specie, and when no notes under five pounds were issued, 10 millions at least may have been necessary to answer the occasional demands for 50 millions of bank notes; but now that one pound notes are issued, these 50 millions may be circulated by a stock of 5 millions (2) of the notes of the bank of England; by which means, directly and indirectly, the augmentation which has been made to the paper currency would be $52\frac{1}{2}$ millions.

But neither the bank of England, nor these

(1) The notes of private bankers, and even the notes of private individuals, are now very frequently preferred to bank of England notes.

(2) I do not give these as the exact sums, but as approximations to the truth. I give them only to illustrate the indirect effect of these bank notes to increase the paper currency; it is clear that from their own nature, the exact sums are not ascertainable.

persons

persons called bankers, are the only, or even the principal means, by which the paper circulating medium is furnished; every trader in Great-Britain, from the highest to the lowest issues his paper, and it is these private bills of exchange, with all the various acceptances, which form by far the greatest part of the paper currency of England.

When we consider how utterly impossible it is to calculate, nay, how utterly every sort of data is wanting to form an idea of the amount of these different sorts of paper, which every different description of trader has a powerful interest, and, in these times, a pressing necessity, to send into circulation; when we consider to what lengths projectors, sharpers, swindlers, desperate adventurers, and even well-intentioned traders when pressed, or when threatened with bankruptcy, can now force the emission of paper; when we consider the thousand pernicious and fraudulent means which the ingenuity of man has invented, such as drawing and redrawing, etc., practices so difficult to be detected even when the ordeal of gold and silver existed, and now utterly impossible; when we consider what a vast amount of capital has been expended in nine years, and what an accumulation of taxes; when we consider in

times of such general pressure, from such unexampled prodigality, with what earnestness the banks and all those who deal in the emission of paper must be importuned by every description of persons, from the government to the lowest trader; and when we consider how much it is the interest of these bankers to yield to these general and pressing importunities; and how intirely they are relieved from all risk by the dispensation from paying the notes they issue in cash; the mind of man cannot conceive a situation where there is more aptitude, more incentives to innundate the nation with a torrent of paper, or where there are less to oppose or restrain it.

These dispositions are still farther increased by the vulgar error, but too generally adopted by those who should have known better, that the more national capital has been expended, and consequently the more distress, the more liberally bankers should augment the amount of their notes; whereas the duty of banks should be the direct reverse; and as the national capital diminishes, so should the amount of the bank notes.

This vulgar error arises from confounding the machine which *circulates* with the property *circulated*. The more of the national capital, that is, the more of the provisions, manufactures and

materials for manufactures that have been expended, the less circulating medium it requires to circulate the remainder.

When the minister expended 223 millions of the national capital, and when he diminished the produce of the national industry by 33 millions, which arose from the profits, he threw the circulating medium which circulated these 223 millions of capital, and these 33 millions of profits out of the circulation; there being no farther employment for the medium after the property was gone; and if gold and silver had continued to be the only legal circulating medium, a portion proportionate to the diminution of the national capital and income would have been withdrawn from the circulation.

Having demonstrated that, by the law which substituted paper for gold and silver, there exists every inducement, and every interest, with all descriptions of persons, to augment the circulating paper medium beyond the quantity wanted to circulate the national property; having demonstrated that by the banishment of gold and silver, no possible means exist to restrain or to limit this ruinous augmentation; seeing that a direct proof from the impossibility of estimating the thousand different modes by which paper can be issued, is

not within the reach of human research ; the onus lies with the advocates for the *inexhaustibility* of british resources to set forth some plausible grounds for supposing that an excess in the emission of paper , and a depreciation , have not taken place. They should show by what possible means the government (by far the greatest spendthrift itself) can prevent a paper emission from being increased even to saturation ; they should show that this vapouring about the *in exhaustibility* of the british resources is not clearly disproved by the fact , *that this bankruptcy has afforded the spendthrift and ruinous means by which the war has been supported since the 26 of february 1797.* But neither the ministers , nor those who find it their interest to write for ministers , can produce the semblance of any such proof , while reasoning from effects to their cause , it can be clearly proved that a ruinous excess has been already committed and must continue ; and that it is to this excess in the emission of paper that the ministers have been wholly indebted for all their schemes of finance since the 26 of february 1797.

When lord Hawksbury lately declared , that the bank directors were desirous to resume their payments in specie , but that the government prevented them , he has openly avowed , that though

the bank could stand upon the foundation of gold and silver , *the government could not*. When his lordship has taken so much pains to prove that it is not the bank that wishes to postpone its payments in specie , is it not singular that he should not have perceived, that in taking it upon himself he was making the fullest confession of the ruinous shifts to which he and his colleagues were driven to prolong the existence of their desperate system.

1°. The first fact which affords a direct proof of this depreciation is , that the bank of England has increased the amount of its notes in circulation by $7\frac{1}{2}$ millions (1), since 1797; and allowing that 50 millions have been circulated on a deposit of 5 millions of these national bank notes , there will have been added to the circulation since february 1797, $52\frac{1}{2}$ millions in paper, unsupported by gold or silver.

2°. In the first four years of the war the minister found the greatest difficulty to borrow 66 millions only ; read the correspondence between him and the bank directors from january 1795 to february 1797 (2) , and it is impossible

(1) $9\frac{1}{2}$ millions now.

(2) See the annual register of 1797.

to describe more forcibly the difficulties the minister experienced to procure these 66 millions, or the distress to which the bank was driven to give him a part of the aid he demanded; nay, to such a height had the difficulties of the minister risen, in these *four first years of the war*, that to raise the last loan in 1796 for 18 millions, he was obliged to have recourse to a *loyalty loan*, and even this, aided by all that zeal and loyalty could effect, went on so heavily, that these zealous loyalists sought relief from parliament and received it. Yet in the last five years of the war (though the minister had experienced such difficulties in raising only 66 millions in the first four years) he raised 157 millions, after the national bankruptcy, without *any difficulty whatever*; nor does it appear that those bank directors, who made such strong remonstrances against the extravagance of the minister in the four first years when they had but $8\frac{1}{2}$ millions of their notes in circulation, *have ever remonstrated since, though they are augmented to 16 millions* (1).

3°. The next effect from the same cause, is the rise of the funds: these were at 53 in february 1797, at the end of the *four first years of the war*, and they

(1) Now 18 millions.

rose to 67 (1) at the end of the last four years since 1797, before the peace had any effect on them, towards the end of a nine years war the most expensive ever recorded in the annals of the world.

4°. The great difference between the market price of gold and the mint price, or the difference between the price of gold valued by its own sterling, intrinsic value, and valued by the depreciated currency of the bank of England paper. While I am writing, government is issuing dollars at more than eleven per cent above their value, and even at this rate it may be foreseen they will disappear like the rest.

5°. The great and general rise which has taken place in the price of all sorts of commodities.

6°. The total disappearance of specie (2).

(1) No doubt there will come a time when the funds will sink in spite of the effects of the depreciation of paper to raise them. When the people of England can see their real situation, they will form a correspondent opinion.

(2) When Mr. Addington lately inveighed so bitterly against hoarding, and of the want of public spirit in those who have the common sense to rescue their families from absolute want at a crisis of such prodigality and ruin, he displayed a simplicity and ignorance truly descriptive of the sort of minister to whom the affairs of Great-Britain have been

7°. The extraordinary phenomenon of the taxes being more productive in proportion as they have been augmented, even to double the former amount; and at the end of a war in which there has been such a vast expenditure of the national capital. Even this very year the minister has laid on an addition of taxes to the monstrous amount of L. 12,700,000, and has had the simplicity or the ignorance to boast of their being productive, as if the facility he boasts of could be ascribed to any other cause, than paper depreciation (1).

committed at the most critical period of her existence. — A friend of mine stopped by a highwayman on Blackheath, gave him a guinea; sir, said the robber, « You are the fifth I have stopped this night who have had but a guinea, this hoarding w'ont do, there never was so much business done in our way since the memory of man as at present ». Strange, that a prime minister and a highwayman should find the same solution of their difficulties in the same complaint; for so says Mr. Addington, « *this hoarding w'ont do, there never was so much business done in the memory of man in our way as at a present.* »

(1) From the importance which merchants attach to the state of exchange, it may be thought it should enter into this subject; but considered in a general point of view, it will be found a mere floating circumstance, of which the appearances are too equivocal and uncertain to admit of its being the subject of general reasoning. From the quantity

Is there one of these effects, all happening since 1797, which can be attributed to any other cause

of her manufactures, and of East and West India produce with which Great-Britain supplies all Europe, particularly in war time, when her maritime domination gives her a monopoly of foreign commodities, from a particular circumstance it may happen that the nations of Europe might find some difficulty in paying Great-Britain for her commodities, by which exchange might be turned considerably in her favor.

From 1780 to 1803 there have been but *three* years in which the produce of Great-Britain has sufficed for her subsistence. Generally speaking her agriculture falls so far short to supply her, that seven years in eight she is beholden to America and Europe for her subsistence. In the house of lords, on the 23 july 1800, lord Liverpool said, “ Yes, „ my lords, in one single year we have paid L. 5,606,000 „ for the grain imported into England; and it is a fact that „ Great-Britain does not produce a sufficiency of grain for „ the subsistence of its inhabitants. „ The year before last, the mere bounties paid by government for the encouragement of the importation of corn, amounted to L. 1,633,587; but last year was a year of such extraordinary abundance, that no corn has been imported; and this extraordinary circumstance is the reason why exchange is so much in favor of Great-Britain. If it had been a year of ordinary harvest, in which she had had to purchase several millions worth of corn, the exchange would have been as much against her, as it is now in her favor. The difference between an extraordinary abundant year, and one that is not so, makes a diffe-

than the excess in the emission of paper, and the consequent depreciation? The state of the bank of England affords a positive fact directly to the purpose.

The difficulties the minister experienced to raise

rence of at least 30 millions worth in the national produce of Great-Britain; and if the coming year should not prove a like year of extraordinary abundance, the minister will perceive how much he has been beholden to this abundance, not only for the state of exchange, but for the practicability of going on with his system.

The state of exchange is so fallacious a standard of national prosperity, that the very measure which may be the effect of the deepest national distress may be the means for a time of giving a most favorable turn to the state of exchange. For instance, the distress and stagnation of trade may oblige the English traders to sell their goods at a considerable per centage under prime cost; yet this ruinous, spendthrift commerce would for a time turn the exchange in favor of England. Query, is it not to some such act that she is in part indebted for the present state of exchange! So true is it, that the most favorable state of exchange is no criterion of national prosperity, that during the late year of peace, when England respired after a nine years war, exchange was greatly against her; and now, that she is plunged into the most ruinous war, it is as much in her favor. The intelligent reader cannot fail to observe, how much the effect of this extraordinary abundant harvest, in cheapening the first great necessary of life, and in creating this favorable exchange, has checked the march of depreciation.

a comparatively small sum, in the four first years of the war, and the facility with which he has raised more than double the sum in the last five years of the war, together with the rise in the funds, all moving round the 26 of february 1797, as if that day was the centre upon which the fortune of Britain had turned, go directly to the great question of *inexhaustibility*; and if no other cause can be assigned for this wonderful revolution in the finances, and I defy ministers to assign any other, I fear *inexhaustibility* must be expunged, and *assignats* and bankruptcy must be set in its place; while the rise of the price of all sorts of commodities, especially gold and silver, leaves not a shadow of doubt on the subject.

But what brings home the effects to an excess in the emission of paper, and its consequent depreciation more conclusively if possible, is their having happened precisely in the time, the degree and the manner that might have been expected.

Supposing the whole of the specie to have amounted to 50 millions (1) in february 1797. The first emission of paper, to the amount of these 50

(1) M^r. George Rose valued the gold in circulation before the 26 of february 1797 at L. 43,950,042. I have taken the whole gold and silver at 50 millions.

millions, could have had no other effect than to force the specie out of circulation, and to take its place. Thus far the minister would have had the aid of 50 millions by this operation, which the public seem never to have thought of, and the nation would have exchanged a sterling, solid machine, indispensibly necessary for circulating its transferable property with security, for a paper machinery of no intrinsic value, and as such utterly unsafe and unfit to be the measure of property. As by this substitution, the amount of the circulating medium in use, would remain the same, the first emission, as far as these 50 millions of paper, could not have experienced any depreciation; accordingly it was not untill about the beginning of 1798 that the effects of this depreciation began to be felt. The funds, which in february 1797, were at 53, followed the regular, natural course that might have been expected, and gradually sunk; specie was growing more scarce; but when the emission of paper had passed the point of mere substitution for the 50 millions of specie, the depreciation began to make its appearance. The funds, which had sunk to 47 in the beginning 1798, gradually rose after 8 years of the most expensive war ever recorded, to 67; gold was at a higher premium, and all sorts of commodities experienced a similar rise; all exhibiting additional

proofs of excess and depreciation, by the time, the degree, and the manner in which they made their appearance; while from the nature of the disease it must go on increasing, like the pernicious habit of dram drinking, every excess leads to a greater: the more paper that is issued, the less is its value; where as in a dropsy, perpetual thirst, perpetual repletion, the patient goes on till he bursts.

At a moment when there cannot remain a shadow of doubt, that these inducements, these violent propensities, arising from interest and necessity in all descriptions of persons, from the government down to the lowest trader, have operated this ruinous excess and depreciation in the circulating medium; when it is found that this aptitude in the whole nation to fall into this ruinous excess has had its effect, are the people of England rightly informed of the real situation they stand in? Was there ever a ministry whose genius or talents were less adequate to the great crisis at which these were chosen? Have these men who have great stakes in the country reflected on the nature of the mine that has been worked under their feet, by which their property is hourly menaced with total subversion? Have the sober, thinking men of Great-Britain weighed the extent of the bankruptcy into which the nation is sinking; a bankruptcy that

must extend to every crevice where circulation can enter ?

The direct effect of a depreciated paper circulation is too evident to need much explanation. The revolution in fortunes is obvious ; all property which was sterling becomes liquidated at a half, a fifth, or a tenth (1) of its original value, according to the degree of depreciation the paper currency shall have attained. The public creditors who lent their sterling property, on the faith of the nation, instead of the full stipulated interest for which they conditioned, receive but a half, a fifth, or a tenth, as the evil advances. The rents of lands and of houses experience a like diminution ; the revenue as it swells in bulk, sinks in value ; while the loans in a depreciated currency reduce the stocks to waste paper, and hurries on the accumulation of debt at a rate which insures a national bankruptcy by geometrical acceleration ; effecting a revolution in the whole state of property ; where the swindler, the spendthrift and the desperate adventurer gain a temporary relief ; and the industrious and prudent, whose frugality has accumulated that sacred fund to which Great-Britain owes her wealth and her greatness, are plunged into the depth of adversity.

(1) In France, the paper was at a depreciation of 6000 liv. for a louis d'or, and in America still lower.

These are the effects that have ever attended a depreciated paper medium ; and in proportion to the extent and activity of the wealth and industry of England , in proportion the effects must be dreadful ; but as a manufacturing nation , depreciation in the circulating medium is peculiarly fatal. Wages and the price of raw materials augment with the depreciation , as do provisions , lodgings , and every necessary. The capitalist , who advances these extravagant prices for the materials , and those increased wages , can have no interest to engage his capital in employing tradesmen , if he does not get a proportionate price for the manufactures ; as the depreciation in the circulating medium increases , so must the price of the manufactures.

The greatest writer on political œconomy assigns the depreciation of specie in Spain as one of the principal reasons why she is so little of a manufacturing nation. Specie is of more value in the rest of Europe and of less in Spain ; but this depreciation is nothing in comparison with this paper depreciation which exists in England , with the still greater which must inevitably follow. With all her advantages , and she has many , how is it possible she can continue to undersell those nations where gold and silver continue to be the sober , solid , sterling measure of property ? How shall she prevent , by

and by , other nations , with this single advantage , from underselling her in her own market ? Of all the means that could be devised to destroy a manufacturing nation , adulteration in her circulating medium is the most efficacious ; for this plain reason , that let the manufactures have been brought to the highest pitch of perfection ; let them have every other advantage , once that the circulating medium has suffered a considerable depreciation , no man can continue to employ his capital in manufactures , who will not submit to the loss of the whole of his profits and a part of his stock.

If the prospect in looking forward is frightful , that which presents itself in looking back is not less dreadful. Let us suppose for a moment the resolution taken to go back to the solid basis of gold and silver , and that all obligations in paper were again subject to the good old law of paying in specie. What a chaos ! What an augean stable !! All the debts that have been contracted , all the bargains that have been made , all the contracts that have been engaged for , all sorts of business that have been transacted by the standard of depreciated medium , at a third , a fifth or a tenth of the sterling value , to be paid with gold or silver ; that is to pay three , five or ten times more than the value which had been given , while 50 millions of the active capital

capital of the nation must be sunk to purchase gold and silver to replace that which was forced away by the paper emission.

It is obvious, that the first effect of such a resolution to return to the standard of specie, would be, as on every like occasion, of which history makes any mention, the total and instant discredit of the whole of the paper; so that, as Sir James Stuart observed on a like occasion, “ a man might starve the next day with one hundred millions of paper in his pocket. ” So inveterately ruinous is that *solid* system of finance of the late minister, whether we look back or forward, presenting difficulties so vast, so complicated, that his successors, perceiving that they have waded so far in ruin, will find it easier to go on than to return.

Here then is the true, the naked exposition of the so much vaunted resources and finances of Britain; here is a detection of the shifts and frauds of the late minister, whose praises have been sounded by so many venal voices throughout Europe, and re-echoed by so many ignorant credulous dupes. Reduced to his just value, we see him raising 66 millions in the four first years of the war, by holding up to the imagination of the good people of England, a constant succession of the most frightful pictures of revolutionary horrors, while he

himself was acting the part of the most active revolutionist in Great-Britain; alarming the rich that they might the more readily fill his loans and subscriptions, by setting forth that a vast portion of their countrymen were incorrigible Jacobins and revolutionists, whilst plots, assassinations and insurrections were played off from time to time to keep up the alarm, with all the address, management and stage effect that might suit the profession of a charlatan, but for ever disgraceful in the minister of a great nation.

In the next five years he has made away with 175 millions more, by means hitherto unknown in the annals of Britain; and which have been so fully explained, as to leave no doubt of the ruin he has brought on his country. After having played slight-of-hand with the whole specie of England, and having laid the foundation for inevitable bankruptcy, by the law which has substituted paper for gold, profiting by the first run of the new circulating medium, he has quitted the ministry at the moment when depreciation began to make its appearance, leaving his successor to struggle with the disgrace of bankruptcy and ruin.

CHAPTER IV.

The system of corruption, its vast expence, and the general disaffection it has created.

THE next object by which we can judge of the stability of the system of Britain, is the principle upon which the whole of her government turns. From the first formation of the representative body, from which we must date the commencement of her constitution, to the revolution of 1688, the history of England presents a steady, uniform, uninterrupted progress towards the establishment of *liberty* and *law*. By the wise employment which the representatives made of their omnipotence over the national purse, they were often oppressed, fined, and imprisoned by the arbitrary acts of despotic princes, but *never corrupted*; they held fast by the power of the purse, and constantly repaired the breaches made at unfavorable moments, and even strengthened the out-works when they found an occasion. It was a constant struggle between representation on the side of liberty and Law, and despotism against them; until at length, in the reign of the last of the Stuarts, the contest was brought

a happy conclusion, between the certainty of *law* and the uncertainty of *will*. By this victory, the great principle was established, that no man should obey a law, or pay a tax, that was not ordained by his representative.

Read the history of England, and you will find, with what admirable pertinacity the representatives guarded the national purse throughout this long and glorious struggle; in no instance abandoning the right of the people through fear or menace, did they grant the public money, but with the most rigid œconomy; they felt that the supplies were the lever and main spring by which the liberties of the people, and the movements of the government were to be regulated; hence taxes were few, and debts there were none; the crown preferred menace and force to corruption.

From the revolution of 1688 all has been reversed: violence has been abandonned towards the representatives, and influence has been substituted; *this is the great point I would seize*, for here is the source of that endless expence which has increased, is increasing, and cannot be diminished. What an herculean work! What an endless expence flows from the change. In order to render the crown independent of the controul of the parliament, it must influence, not only the representatives, but

it naturally seeks to have a majority of the electors throughout the nation : to add to the power of the government , you must augment the burdens of the people.

+ In proportion as the people show a disposition to oppose the measures of the ministry , the ministry feel a necessity to load the people , when there is an over-whelming patronage and an imperfect representation. In proportion as the representatives have some remnant of freedom , in proportion will the people be loaded with an expence to corrupt them. Every excess in expence for the purpose of corruption , naturally creates the discontent and opposition of the people , while this increased discontent and opposition calls for an additional expence to allay them.

Crown against people, and people against crown, expence accumulates in geometrical measure, whereby the enormous augmentation of the influence of the crown by the receipt and expenditure of 50 millions (1) in peace time, and near 100 mil-

(1) The government-taxes at $34\frac{1}{2}$ millions, the poor rates at 6 millions, the clergy and public instruction 6 millions, besides the taxes for the repairs of the high-ways, bridges, public buildings, the lighting, paving and police of the towns, etc. etc. etc. shew that 50 millions is a very

lions (1) in war time, are insufficient; the immense patronage of England, Ireland, Wales, and Scotland, in church, in law, in army, in navy, in diplomacy, and in revenue, is insufficient; the pillage and plunder of the East Indies, with five times the population of Britain, to satiate the adventurers who pass in succession, are insufficient, for this plain reason, the increase of influence leads to an increase of opposition, and the increase of opposition leads to an increase of influence, acting and reacting, the system is constructed to go forward in expence upon a principle of increased velocity.

In vain the parliament has declared, « that the influence of the crown had increased, was increasing, and ought to be diminished;» yet how insignificant, when this declaration was made by the british parliament, compared with what it is now; but effects will follow their causes, nor is it in words or declarations to change them (2).

moderate estimate of a peace establishment, without taking into consideration the effect of the present war.

(1) In 1797 the loans amounted to 67 millions.

(2) The drowsy apathy which this wide diffusion of corruption has created in a considerable part of the nation, is the reason why we have seen the *secret cabinet*, and almost all the ostensible administrations, during this reign, undermine or utterly destroy all the great main pillars upon which

In 1783 this system of influence had accumulated a heap of patronage, of debt, and of taxes which alarmed the nation; at a time when despondency, which always attends the termination of war, had seized on the people of England. Before the doctrine of *inexhaustibility* was preached and believed, M^r. Pitt declared himself the apostle of parliamentary reform, as the only remedy against the enormous, and growing extravagance of the system of influence; upon the principle, that without a controuling parliament, really emanating from the choice of the nation, no security could be relied on from the virtues or professions of ministers.

These principles recommended him to the ministry, and his conduct has been the confirmation of his own doctrine, of the little dependance to be placed in the virtue of ministers; but although he has abandonned his principle, a majority of the people still think that a controuling parliament is the only security against the system of influence.

the constitution was placed at the revolution of 1688. Let no man imagine, that in a question of stability or industry, the state of immortal liberty is not an essential consideration. To her liberty Great-Britain owed the flourishing state to which her industry has been carried, liberty and industry must destroy corruption, or corruption will destroy them.

here is the point at issue which divides the nation at present. The one side maintains, that a controuling parliament is the foundation, the essence of the old english constitution, the genuine principle by which it was founded, and by which alone it can be supported; while the other contends for the system of influence, with all its accumulations, its patronage, and its endless expences.

This is the constitution which in several reports of the committees of parliament it is asserted, there is a plot to destroy, upon such proof as leaves no doubt of *“the nature, (1) extent and malignity of the
 ” extravagant designs which have been formed, of
 ” the regularity of the system with which these de-
 ” signs have been pursued, of the rapid progress of
 ” the measures which have been taken to attempt to
 ” carry them speedily into execution!”*

The people of Scotland, if we can believe these reports, are even still more discontented and dis-

(1) See the report on the king's message on the 12 of May, 1794, page 1. These parliamentary reports are many and voluminous. It is impossible to paint the disaffection which ministers created in the minds of the people of Great-Britain and Ireland more forcibly than it has been described in those reports. In what part of history shall we find malignant disaffection the fruit of even tolerable go-

affected to this system of influence ; and in Ireland, discontent and disaffection have become even still more general. As that country furnishes more than half the sailors, and a vast portion of the soldiers of England ; as from its position it has become one of the most interesting countries in Europe ; and as it is peculiarly connected with the stability of Great-Britain, a brief shetch of the policy she has pursued in Ireland, and the effects that have followed is indispensible.

CHAPTER V.

The policy England has observed towards Ireland, from the confessions of his Majesty's late and present ministers.

EVEN to glance at the means by which the Irish have been dispossessed of their property, and the pains and penalties to which they have been condemned for their religious opinions, does not belong to this work; it is enough to observe, that from the first invasion of the English in 1169, there never was a more detestable policy observed by any nation, nor one that was more adapted to alienate the affections of a people. The same miserable system of monopoly and exclusion, which she observed towards America and the rest of the world, she observed in Ireland; and more, for even the whigs, who were the champions of liberty in their own country, petitioned William III. to destroy the woollen manufacture in Ireland. He assured them he would do it, and he performed his promise: so true is it, that a nation enfeebled by divisions, and that the worst of divisions, a rancorous, religious division, must submit to every

injury and every insult their invaders think fit to offer.

This system, up to 1784, is so clearly described by the late minister Pitt, that I shall give it in his own words. « When the connexion with Ireland » was something more than a name ; when that » connexion was ascertained, and the Imperial » parliament of Britain exercised a supremacy in » Ireland, it did happen, that during that period, » the narrow policy of Great-Britain, influenced » by selfish views of trade and commercial advantage, tainted and perverted with selfish motives, treated Ireland with partiality and neglect, never looking upon her growth and prosperity as the growth and prosperity of the Empire at large ; a narrow-minded policy, mischievous and pregnant with the most fatal consequences to both kingdoms ». This is the minister's account of the policy his country observed towards Ireland from 1169 to 1784.

The cause of Ireland was fought in America. — In the absence of the british troops, Ireland armed and demanded the right to legislate for herself, and a renunciation of that right on the part of Great-Britain who had usurped it : all of which she obtained. But as the state of the Irish representation was of little consequence while the bri-

ish parliament usurped the right to legislate for Ireland, the Irish representation was neglected and suffered to fall into the hands of a few individuals, it had ceased to be in any wise a representation of the people of Ireland; hence, upon establishing the right of solely legislating for herself, Ireland demanded a real representation, without which the right must remain a dead letter.

The individuals who had usurped the representation opposed themselves to every reform, *and the late minister supported these individuals against the whole nation.* As the whole patronage of Ireland remained at the disposal of the minister; and as these few families who had possessed themselves of the representation could not fail to be influenced by the minister, the Irish nation perceived, that as long as this order of things continued, the power of legislating for them, would be transferred from the british parliament to the british minister; they perceived that the system of domination was exchanged for the system of influence with all its increase of debts, loans, and patronage. *This is the point I would seize, for this is the point at issue between the people of Ireland and the british government, of which Europe has witnessed the disastrous consequences.*

From 1784 the british ministry have uniformly

supported this Irish government; always designating the Irish constitution, as the most glorious and happy; while the people of Ireland have uniformly declared against a government of influence, and that an influence in the hands of the minister of another country. In 1793 the british ministry shewed demonstrations of abandoning the support of these individuals, and of conciliating the affections of the whole nation. In 1794 ministers changed their minds, and these individuals were defended by violent measures. In 1795 this ministry sent a Viceroy with an olive branch, and when all was on the point of being conciliated, he was recalled, and a successor was sent, with injunctions to withdraw every idea of concession, and to employ the most relentless resistance to every wish of the people. From this period the british government defended their Irish constitution of influence by means a just government could never stand in need of; and the people opposed it with an obstinacy and perseverance, which the most oppressive government alone could have excited.

The Irish finding that their religious dissensions had been the cause of their weakness, formed an Union, founded on the abolition of all distinctions of sects and religions. This is the origin of that association, known by the name of the Union of

Irishmen, of which the annals of mankind have never recorded a similar association.

In 1799, after the british ministry had destroyed by one means or other, at least 30,000 Irish Citizens, in defence of what they called the best of governments, and the Irish who desired to change it, the worst of Rebels, these very ministers came forward, and by a voluntary confession acknowledged, that this Irish constitution, which they had defended against the wishes of the people, at the expence of so much blood, and so much torture, at the expence of the most horrible sufferings of thousands of families, part by the executioner, and part in poverty and exile; I say these ministers acknowledged, that this constitution, in defence of which they had committed all these horrors, was one of the most oppressive and radically imperfect constitutions that ever existed. But that I may not be suspected of fabricating confessions so extraordinary, confessions which must hand them down to posterity as the most wanton, unjustifiable oppressors that have ever signed their own condemnation, I give them in their own words.

(1) M^r. Pitt. *«The Irish constitution is a deformed*

(1) See Debret's parliamentary register 3 d. session. parl. vol 7, pag. 612, 613 and 623.

„ resemblance of the british. The evils with which
 „ Ireland is afflicted lie deep in the situation of the
 „ country. But the imperfection of the Irish consti-
 „ tution is admitted, and to that must be added the
 „ complicated grievances and defects of the state of
 „ the country at large, with respect to the want of a
 „ diffusion of property, to the extraordinary disparity
 „ of rank, and to the scanty means of social improve-
 „ ment, all producing in a proportionate degree,
 „ misery in one extreme, and oppression in the
 „ other. If any institution be inadequate to provide
 „ an effectual remedy for these evils, it is, I do not
 „ hesitate to say, the Irish legislature. From its
 „ own nature it is, and must be, incapable of restoring
 „ the internal happiness of the country, and fixing the
 „ prosperity of the people. The legislature formed as
 „ it is must continue radically defective. I have
 „ spoken an honest and fair opinion. „

(1) M^r. Dundas, now lord Melville. „ It is a
 „ melancholy truth, that there does not exist in the
 „ great body of the people of Ireland that confidence
 „ in the parliament of Ireland, which is essential to
 „ its utility. I need not go far to search for the reasons
 „ of this essential defect, it grows out of the frame

(1) See Debre's parliamentary register, vol. 7, pag. 708
 and 724.

» and constitution of the parliament of Ireland. It is
 » generally acknowledged, that the poor of Ireland
 » experience all the miseries concomittant to a state
 » of want and wretchedness. »

(1) Lord Hawkesbury. « The course of events,
 » which for some years past have taken place in
 » Ireland, have firmly rivetted me in the opinion,
 » that there must be something radically wrong in the
 » internal situation of Ireland. »

(2) Mr. Windham. « I maintain, that the di-
 » sorders of Ireland have grown chiefly out of the
 » constitution of Ireland, established for near a
 » century and a half; and it is impossible that a
 » government agitated as that of the sister kingdom
 » has been, a government dislocated in every limb,
 » could enjoy health, or long survive these diseases,
 » some slow some acute, which are sickly of aspect
 » and make her feeble of heart, but the seeds of the
 » mischief are in the constitution itself. » (1)

(3) Lord Grenville. « Does there or does there
 » not exist a necessity for a change in the system of
 » the Irish government. I declare, I never conversed
 » with any well-informed man from Ireland, who did

(1) See Debret's parliamentary register, vol. 7, pag. 673.

(2) *Idem*, vol. 7, pag. 736.

(3) *Idem*, vol. 8, pag. 262.

„ not say, that the present state of things, as they
 „ now existed in that country, could not continue,
 „ consistent with the general safety of the empire. „

(1) M^r. Addington. „ It is a melancholy but I
 „ fear an incontestible truth, that the state of Ireland
 „ has at no period of its history, with which we are
 „ acquainted, been such, as to afford satisfaction to
 „ any mind that can appreciate the conditions of civil
 „ society. The bounty of providence has indeed been
 „ displayed in that country by a fertile soil, and by
 „ abundant means of internal improvement and pros-
 „ perity; it's inhabitants have not been less distin-
 „ guished than those of Great-Britain, in correspon-
 „ ding stations of life, for eloquence, for literary and
 „ scientific acquirements, and for those talents and
 „ exertions which have established the naval and mi-
 „ litary renown of the british Empire. Their form of
 „ government is the same as ours, but it wants its true
 „ characteristic, it does not, like ours, bestow and
 „ receive general confidence and protection; it is not,
 „ like ours, connected with the indissoluble ties, with
 „ the obvious interests, the feelings, and the senti-
 „ ments, of the great body of the people. „

(2) Lord Aukland. „ Is it not true, that whilst

(1) See Debre's parliamentary register, vol. 8, pag. 48.

(2) Parliamentary register, vol. 8, pages 331 and 332.

„ Great-Britain has advanced , Ireland , possessing
 „ the same climate , a fruitful soil , excellent ports ,
 „ and a numerous people , to whom the common pa-
 „ rent of all gave great acuteness and ingenuity , has
 „ nevertheless been involved in comparative disorder ,
 „ poverty , turbulence , and wretchedness. I might
 „ add without exaggeration , that in the six hundred
 „ years since the reign of Henry II. there has been
 „ more unhappiness in Ireland , than in any other
 „ civilized nation , not actually under the visitation
 „ of pestilence or internal war ; neither prosperity , nor
 „ tranquillity , nor safety , were to be expected from
 „ a government , founded in the pretensions of a
 „ small part of the community , to monopolize the
 „ representation , patronage , and resources of the
 „ whole. The insufficiency of such a system has been
 „ felt and lamented for a century , and is become now
 „ more than ever unsatisfactory to the bulk of the
 „ Irish nation , and utterly incompetent and unsafe
 „ with respect to the general interest of the british
 „ Empire. „

If these great authorities , no less than his ma-
 jesty's late and present ministers , can stand in need
 of confirmation , when they paint the oppressive
 and vicious state of the Irish constitution , it is to
 be found in the fact , that in 1799 , when the Irish
 legislature was annihilated , 200 seats of the 300 ,

of which the representation was composed, were claimed by a few (1) individuals as their private property, who received a million and a half for the price; which million and a half, to fill up the measure of insult, injury, and oppression, was levied on the people of Ireland, to pay for that usurpation of their representation, which merited such exemplary punishment.

Is it in language to furnish words more expressive, than those of these ministers, of the radically vicious, and oppressive state of this Irish constitution, which the people of Ireland had made so many peaceable attempts to reform since 1784? I ask these ministers, why did you resist these just claims of the Irish nation, or why have you supported this constitution, which you now describe in such odious colours, by means at which humanity shudders? When you now tell all Europe, that this Irish constitution was incapable of affording happiness or prosperity to the people; that it was deformed and distorted in every limb, sickly of aspect, full of diseases, some slow, some acute, incapable of giving protection, and unworthy of

(1) Such was the degree to which this usurpation of the national representation was carried, that those 200 seats had become the property of between thirty and forty individuals.

receiving confidence, formed in opposition to the interests, the feelings, and the sentiments of the great body of the people; that with all possible natural advantages of climate, soil, ports and genius of it's people, it was involved in disorder, poverty, turbulence, and wretchedness; suffering more in the six hundred years, that british government existed in Ireland, than any other nation on earth; that neither prosperity, nor tranquillity, nor safety, could be expected from a government, founded upon the pretensions of a small part, to monopolize the representation, patronage, and resources of the whole; that all the mischiefs grew out of the constitution itself, producing MISERY in one extreme and OPPRESSION in the other.

I ask these ministers, why have you supported this worst of governments against the wishes of the great body of the people, at the expence of 30,000 lives, by banishment, by fire, by torture, and by all the rigor of martial law? Convicted on these your own confessions made in 1799, after all these horrors had been committed, I call on you in the name of those thousands executed, and massacred, for your defence. You are arraigned in the opinion of every nation. Why, from 1784 to 1798, have you reared, strengthened, and supported this worst of constitutions, *producing misery in one*

extreme and oppression in the other? All this blood, all these cruelties, all these agonizing sufferings have you brought home to yourselves by your *confessions*: confessions so full, that the mind of man cannot conceive a defence which shall wash away the blood with which you are covered.

If every other trace of these dark and bloody scenes was lost, and that these ministerial CONFESSIONS alone remained, could the proscribed and calumniated Irish desire a more full exculpation from the accusations of those very ministers than those CONFESSIONS of the nature, the vices, and the evils of the constitution and government they wished to reform?

Is it in language to furnish a more unanswerable refutation of all those virulent invectives, these ministers and their adherents have poured out against the people Ireland, than these *ministerial confessions*?

If the thousands who now traverse the different regions of the earth, exiled for having attempted to give their country a better government than one *which produced the extremes of misery and oppression*, were questioned by the different governments, where they sought an asylum, if they were required to prove that they were not these turbulent, ungovernable men these ministers have represented

them all over Europe, what document more satisfactory could they produce than these *confessions* of these ministers? What document more exculpatory of them and their country, and more condemnatory of their oppressors?

Nay, if the manes of the thirty thousand heroic souls, who have fallen in the field or on the scaffold, without one single example of fear or of weakness, had bequeathed to me the guardianship of their honor, and the office of rescuing their fair fame from the detraction and calumnies of these ministers, what inscription could I place on the column, that in the effusion of my heart I would raise on their tombs, which could discharge the holy and sacred duty consigned to my care, more gloriously for them or more ingloriously for their oppressors, than these *confessions* of his britannic majesty's late and present ministers?

Had this Irish parliament, which annihilated the Irish legislature, been composed of 300 real representatives of the people of Ireland, it would have been an act of outrageous treason, in Deputies, chosen for eight years, to pretend to transfer that sacred right to the legislature of another country: but when a Parliament, of which the vast majority is composed of self-convicted traitors, finishes its career by publickly selling for ever itself and its

country for a million and a half, what part of the nation that has not been betrayed and outraged by this impudent treason? What part of the nation so vile as to think itself bound by the act of such despicable, unauthorized instruments? What act more perfidious towards those deluded men who supported this government, so justly described by his majesty's late and present ministers, or more abhorrent to those who opposed it? What proof more convincing of the contemptible policy of the minister who planned this transaction, than the hope that any part of the people of Ireland could be conciliated by such a corrupt and scandalous juggle? If we would know the tree by its fruit, if Europe should seek to be informed of the effect of this perfidious act of British ministerial *fraternity*, she may find it in insurrection, in martial law, and in executions, without one single instance of an acquital.

Thus far I have been obliged to take a view of the internal state of Great - Britain and Ireland, in order to be able to judge of the stability of the system that has been pursued. I have studiously avoided entering into the merits of the constitution; not that there is a man in either country that reveres the great and leading principles of that constitution more than I do. I have

been prosecuted with all the weight and power of the crown for having attempted to subvert it. — I have been imprisoned for five years in eight different prisons for having attempted to subvert it. — I am now in exile for having attempted to subvert it; and in the face of Europe I appeal to the *confessions* of his Britannic Majesty's late and present ministers, *whether it was the CONSTITUTION I did attempt to subvert*; my own conscience has never failed to acquit me in the tribunal of my own heart; and these *confessions* of his Majesty's ministers have acquitted me before the rest of the world. I never opposed these ministers for supporting the constitution; but I opposed them for supporting what was not the constitution. I opposed them for taking away some of the best and purest principles of that constitution, and for adding some of the worst and foulest principles that go to its destruction.

The points I would seize, for to prove the instability of the system pursued, is the destructive principle which grows out of the system of influence, and the exhaustion and feebleness that naturally flow from the extravagance, the distress, the discontent, and disaffection, which the conduct of ministers have introduced into the heart of the empire.

Hear with what exultation these ministers speak of the hundreds of millions they have expended of the national capital, and of the sums they boast of being still able to squander (1). Read these several volumes where they have set forth the discontents and disaffections of such numbers in England, in Ireland, and in Scotland. See with what triumph they speak of the extent and malignity of the opposition they have raised in the hearts of people, against the principles upon which they have acted. One would imagine they had built their pretensions to the applause of their contemporaries, and to be placed in the Pantheon by posterity, on the talent they have displayed in draining their fellow citizens of their wealth to the last mite, and alienating their hearts to the last spark of affection, from that constitution which was the boast of every Briton, and the envy and admiration of the rest of the world.

(1) See the different reports of the secret committees of the English and Irish parliaments.

CHAPTER VI.

*Of the stability of the system of Great - Britain ,
as far as it can be destroyed by other nations.*

THUS far I have examined the stability of this system upon which Great-Britain has founded her wealth and her power, as a structure which was to stand or fall of itself without the helping hand of another.

We have seen that, erected in opposition to the interest of the rest of the world, it has involved her in perpetual wars; whereas, as she has extended her conquests, her expences and difficulties have increased in a still greater proportion. — We have seen the principle of her government changed from a controuling representative legislature of rigid œconomy, to a government of influence, carrying within it the seeds of enormous and growing extravagance from Walpole to Pit.

From the combined result of these expensive and ruinous principles, we have seen, that after a monstrous accumulation of debt and of taxes, and after

the most destructive expenditure of her capital, reduced to a paper currency, with every mark of depreciation, and every prospect of its increasing, accompanied with all that distress and discontent which so naturally follow, she has to support her monopoly, her taxation of Europe, and her widely scattered dominions, against those powerful nations who feel the strongest interest to dispute her pretensions.

When we consider the time, the manner and the recency of these vast acquisitions in India, what is there which can give us an idea of their permanency or of their stability? But half a century ago, the possessions of Great-Britain in India were little more than the counting-houses of her company; even before the french revolution, almost every commercial nation in Europe participated in this vast continent, where Britain now exercises unlimited dominion.

At a moment when France was necessitated to employ all her resources, to assert the right of choosing her government, and to maintain her independence against a combination of the continental governments of Europe, her navy fell into decay, her resources were inadequate to maintain both an army and a navy. At a crisis of more than ordinary effort, the greatest ever displayed by any nation

of which history makes any mention, was the moment the government of Britain improved to destroy the naval power of France, Spain, and Holland, to monopolize the East and West Indies, and to subject the seas to her domination, in which she was powerfully assisted by the treasons at Toulon, the Cape of Good Hope, and the Texel; no doubt her insular situation afforded her an opportunity of turning the crusade against France, to her own aggrandizement, the occasion was favorable, but has it continued? Does the present state of France, of Europe, of America, offer the same facility to retain these acquirements, as the moment of revolution has offered to seize them?

The revolution of France, from the nature of all revolutions, and this from its magnitude more than all others, has created a temporary check to her national industry. The soul of industry is protection; the assurance that he who works shall enjoy the fruits of his labor, is absolutely necessary to call the energies of man into action; but the moment of revolution is that when protection is most precarious. During the french revolution, the consumption of national capital, the paper currency, its depreciation, forced loans and maximum, disorganised the trade and manufactures of France;

but these are but temporary circumstances which give only a relative advantage to Britain.

Let me suppose ten years of war, or ten years of peace, and I will give the advocates for this system of monopoly and mercantile conquest of Britain their choice. If they choose ten years of war, we have but to compare the situation the two nations hold.

France stands in an attitude of perfect ease: without exertion, without debt, without loans or increase of taxation; while Great-Britain was never in an attitude of more violent effort: where every nerve is strained to the utmost, with monstrous increase of debt and taxes, overwhelming increase of paper, of depreciation, of discontent and of difficulties, all concurring to annihilate every trace of the foundation upon which ministers have formed their illusory and extravagant plans of sinking fund and liquidation.

France, on an establishment of peace, only changes her quarters from the south to the north, to the coast from the interior; England augments her army and navy beyond all former example. — It costs France nothing to menace. — It costs England every thing to put herself in a state of defence. — If France but rests on her arms, without hazard or effort, — count, calculate, it is a matter

of arithmetic, how long Great-Britain can continue the contest.

But say the advocates for the stability of this system, we know it must come to peace in the end, and the longer delayed, the more debt, taxes and difficulties. But if the contrast between the attitude of these two nations in war is so marked, is it less striking in peace? What a field does ten years of peace present for such a country as France? Who can calculate the exertions and progress of 34 millions of such a highly-gifted people, on such a fortunate soil? Every hour the wounds of the revolution are healing, every hour she reaps some benefit from having rescued her industry from the thousand shackles with which the monopoly laws of feodality, primogeniture, entails and settlement, bound it; already she has resumed the habits of industry; already all around us furnishes proof how fast she recovers from the exhaustion of the revolutionary struggle; the most perfect protection established throughout; her agriculture is at this day more flourishing than at any former period of her existence; not one of her arts have been lost, and many have been invented and brought to perfection. Commerce, that was a degraded profession, is now the most respected; every species of industry is

free ; and every exercise of it leads to fortune and honor.

It is true , a considerable part of the circulating capital has been expended ; but all the massy , extensive parts of the vast fixed capital , which it requires ages to accumulate , have been untouched ; all her towns , her villages , her houses , her structures for agriculture , her magazines , her shops ; all her buildings for home trade have been preserved and embellished ; her high-ways , her canals , her ports , all the drains , fences and clearings of her lands , have been improved ; horses , waggons , stock , furniture and implements of labor , have been preserved and augmented. The post office , and the means of facilitating intercourse ; but above all the living machinery , the genius which explores the powers and recesses of nature , to abridge and embellish the productions of art ; making science tributary to the wants , the comforts and enjoyments of man ; the mind which profits by these discoveries , and the dexterity and skill which apply them , these are the parts of the great national fixtures which demand whole centuries to acquire , and these the revolution has preserved and embellished.

With all these faculties , what can prevent such

a country as France from rapidly augmenting her circulating capital, to set this vast fixed capital going? Agriculture is the great store-house from whence manufactures and commerce are furnished. In ten years, peace, aided by an enlightened government, what nation on earth has more facilities to quicken her progress? With the provisions and materials which her agriculture gives in abundance, what can prevent France from extending her manufactures? Circulating capital will be increasing every hour. Do the people of France want genius to construct the most perfect machinery for the abridgement of labor? Do they want talent to perfect the manufactures, or do they want taste to embellish them? With an highly improved agriculture, and advanced manufactures, what can prevent her from augmenting the number of her vessels and sailors? In a word, with ten years of peace what can prevent France from re-establishing her navy on a more extensive footing than ever?

Compare this prospect, with which ten years of peace present France, with the prospect they offer Great-Britain. — Loaded with a debt of 560 millions, and with 25 millions of taxes to pay the interest only; a permanent burden upon

a population of eleven millions , alone greater than the whole of the taxes levied in France on a population of 34 millions. Loaded with the whole peace establishment for the support of her government — loaded with her system of influence , with all its extravagance and all its corruptions — loaded with a paper currency , with all the evils depreciation presents in its progress or in its retrogradation — loaded with 50 millions to repurchase her specie. These alone would be frightful odds to start with against the rest of the world ; but, unfortunately for Britain, these are but a part of the difficulties peace must bring with it.

The revenue and finance of Great-Britain have been taken, by the late minister, from off the basis of PEACE, and placed upon a basis of WAR. He has so augmented the taxes upon articles which can be easily smuggled, that without the whole navy of England, and the difficulty of approaching an enemy's shore, it would be impossible to prevent smuggling.

After the American war, the late minister found the taxes so high, that when the navy was disbanded, smuggling reduced their produce to little or nothing; he lowered the rate of the taxes, which raised the revenue. Yet taking advantage of the late war, he increased these taxes by almost five

millions (1) higher than ever. But in order to return to the point where these taxes shall be most productive in peace, the whole sum must be deducted, leaving a deficiency for all those millions in the revenue. On a peace, the despotism of the seas, the monopoly of foreign produce, and the taxation (2) of Europe, must be abandoned to the still farther diminution of the revenue. Besides, as the unexampled prodigality of the late minister, in changing 22; millions of capital into revenue, furnished the most abundant expenditure of the taxed consumable commodities, whereby the revenue was greatly augmented; when this expenditure shall have ceased,

(1) Tea and spirits.....	L. 2,355,000.
Portugal wines.....	979,600.
Tobacco.....	198,000.
Sea policies.....	130,500.
Sugar and coffee.....	917,000.
Pepper.....	251,300.

L. 4,831,400.

(2) War affords Great-Britain so many means of making the other nations of Europe contribute to defray her expences, that nothing but the inordinate expence at which she makes war, could prevent her from finding her interest in making it perpetual.

with a peace , in proportion must the revenue experience a diminution.

During the late moment of peace , the numbers who passed into France from Great - Britain , occasioned a difference of two or three millions in the exchange between England and France. Several families took refuge on the opposite shores from those locusts that , under the name of those myriads of taxes , devoured the bread of their children ; and thousands were preparing to follow them or to emigrate to North America. Peace offers every facility for the transportation of the manufacturing arts , while all these evils with which peace presents Britain , are so many pressing inducements to leave it.

In enumerating all these evils and difficulties with which peace presents the government of Great-Britain , am I not assigning some of the real reasons for the war into which ministers have replunged the nation ? Is it not , that the revenue and finance of Great-Britain have been so imperiously and inveterately fixed by the late minister on a basis of WAR , that they can no longer stand upon a basis of PEACE ? Was it not proved , that in the short interval of peace , a frightful deficiency (1)

(1) See lord Grenville's speech on this subject during

in the revenue had made its appearance, and would not every hour have seen it augmenting? Is it not manifest, that these ministers, finding no safety in *their system* in the port of peace, have exposed the vessel and cargo to the storms and dangers of war? Convinced that the monstrous mass to which they have augmented their system of influence, debt, and revenue, could not exist in the stagnation of peace, they have committed their hopes to the chapter of accidents; trusting to corruption, intrigue, or some of those little miserable passions which have so often deluged the world with blood, to procure them some great continental alliance.

But if not one of these incontestible, overwhelming evils existed; if sweet peace presented herself to Great-Britain in all her native loveliness; if, instead of those pestiferous ills with which the late minister has envenomed and poisoned her return, she could come back teeming with blessings; Is it within the scope of physical possibility, that Britain could maintain her dominion of the monopoly of the Antilles, and of the vast continent of India?

the late peace, in which he proved unanswerably that this *deficit* did actually exist.

During a short interval of peace, France must become a great manufacturing and commercial nation. France, on a peace, must have a powerful navy; and all those hasty acquirements which Britain has seized in the moment which the crusade of the governments of Europe presented, must be abandoned.

But France is not the only nation which feels this usurped dominion and monopoly of the Indies, and this domination on the ocean. The vast and magnificent continent of America, in all the energy and vigor of youth, begins to develop her force and activity; increased to six millions to-day, ere long her population will double, with an increase of force and of means beyond calculation.

Not a nation in Europe so ignorant as not to know, that its true interests consist in the abolition of all monopoly, and in the establishment of the most free and unlimited competition; even those nations the most remote from the sea, feel the evils of this monopoly, and this arrogant taxation of Britain. Not an enlightened statesman in Russia, in Prussia, in Austria, in any nation of Europe, that does not see the absolute loss, at which the produce of their country is sold by this monopoly and by this taxation. Not

an enlightened statesman that does not see the discouragement every species of industry suffers by this system, upon which Britain has founded her wealth and her power. Not a man of the most ordinary understanding who cannot see, that the benefits which a free competition would confer on all Europe are great beyond all calculation. Then let Britain be assured, there is not a nation of Europe that does not resent, and that will not resist upon an occasion, her monopoly and her usurpation.

Show an infant a map of the world; show him Great-Britain, France and America; show him the East and West Indies; tell him that Great-Britain contains a population of eleven millions, France 34 millions, and America 6 millions; and he will tell you, that the Antilles and India cannot belong to Great-Britain; he will tell you the Ocean cannot belong exclusively to Great-Britain; he will tell you France and America must set them free.

But, say the advocates for the stability of this system of Britain, we are the champions of Europe, while France is regarded as aiming at universal dominion. Our monopoly, our exactions, our taxation of Europe, will be regarded as nothing by the European nations, in comparison of the

dangers with which they are threatened by France. This is the most specious of all their arguments, and to which the conduct of the directory of France in 1798 has given some colour. It is on this character of champions for Europe, the british ministry count to procure some great continental alliance; and trusting to the chapter of accidents that may turn up in a war, it hopes to avert the ruin with which its system is threatened.

CHAPTER VII.

With what justice the british government can be regarded as the champion of Europe.

THERE has been much idle talk about Carthage and Rome , as if we lived in an age when there were but two nations to contend for the world ; or that an advantage gained by one nation over another , was to give universal dominion. The federation of the nations of Europe has existed for ages to maintain its independence , and every indication towards a preponderance has uniformly called forth an exertion, that has re-established the balance.

Have those who raise this cry , that France aims at universal dominion , ever considered the task they assign her to subdue Great-Britain and Ireland , Austria , Prussia , the German-states , Spain , Portugal , Sweden , Denmark and Russia ? Have they taken fairly into account the spirit of liberty that now glows in the breast of the people of Europe ? Have they calculated the enthusiasm and fire France would arm against her , from one end to the other of Europe ? If it were within

the scope of human possibility, what man of common sense that does not perceive the loss France would sustain by a vandalism, which should turn all Europe into a desert, in place of that federation and independence by which commerce, the arts, the necessities, conveniences and enjoyments of life are supported, increased, and brought to perfection? What frenchman that does not perceive the vast portion of happiness such a fruitless attempt would cost France, and what a frightful expenditure of her blood and her treasure to effect her own ruin? What frenchman who does not perceive, how absolutely the emulation and independence of all the other nations of Europe are necessary to rouse and excite national industry and energy? And who that does not perceive, that without this emulation, the victor and vanquished must sink into that sloth, ignorance and barbarism which nature has assigned for tyrants and vassals, the oppressed and their oppressors.

Conquest, on the footing of modern armies and modern nations, is not so easy. By the constitution of armies, in the time of the ancients, the soldiers carried the baggage; in modern armies what miriads of horses and waggons to transport their thousand incumbrances; subsistence formed

so small an object with the ancients, that their historians have left us almost in the dark as to the mode by which their armies were victualled. With us, the existence of an invading army depends as much on its magazines as on the lives of its soldiers; every step from its frontiers, its line of operation is lengthened; as the invader advances, the defence of this line is rendered more arduous; its flanks and its rear more exposed, and its position in every respect more precarious; what would be but a check nearer home, is a total defeat in the heart of the enemy's country.

To furnish an army of two hundred thousand men with its artillery, ammunition, baggage, hospital and magazines, what expence in the constitution of modern armies? As it advances, how is it weakened to secure its conquests, by detachments, by diseases and battles? Yet if entire, what is that number to subdue a nation of millions that are true to themselves, and that feel they have a country to die for?

Let us come to the fact by which this question must be decided. From most of the governments of Europe having lagged behind, or from having been in direct opposition to the will of the people, a movement has manifested itself in a part of the European mind towards an amelioration in the

political state. Commerce, a diffusion of property and education, have eradicated or shaken those prejudices which the sloth, superstition, and ignorance of ages had planted. Let us distinguish between the alarm France may give to despotism, *and the alarm she would cause in the minds of the people who live under those despotic governments if she should attempt to subdue them.* Is it not this spirit of liberty in the hearts of the people of Europe, (the very spirit by which France has performed such wonders herself) which would oppose the most invincible resistance to her pretensions? If France was to attempt to subdue the nations of Europe, it is not from the slavish part she would experience an opposition:—it is little for slaves to change masters. No, I assert it, they are the most ardent enthusiastic lovers of liberty, whose valor she would have most to admire: the oppression and tyranny of a conspirator government may unman and disarm a people by depriving them of every thing that is worth defending; but a people who have a country to fight for, a people who possess the blessings of freedom, cannot be conquered. Confining our remarks to those countries where the governments are despotic, as long as France remains neuter between the people and these despotic governments, there is no question. As far as she may have occa-

sion to act in conformity with the spirit of liberty and the love of equality that exists in the hearts of these people, she will find a most extensive alliance. The moment she acts the part of a conqueror or of a plunderer, the alliance is broken, and the enthusiasm takes the opposite direction.

Will those who would set the british ministry up as a champion, and France as an oppressor, deny that this spirit of liberty has rooted itself in the minds of the people of Europe : not a spirit that seeks to exchange one yoke for another, but a spirit that is resolved to be free ? Do they not know, that nothing would insure such an ardent, unanimous, enthusiastic support to these despotic governments against France, as her abandoning the principle upon which this spirit of liberty is founded, to act the part of a conqueror or an oppressor ?

If this reasoning stands in need of facts to support it, I appeal to the effects which the conduct of the directory produced in the latter time of its government. After the part of an assistant and ally was abandoned, mark the degree of vengeance with which it was followed.

Cost what it will, an enlightened government of France will always find it its interest to gain the affections of the nations that surround her. I would

appeal to all the great generals of the french revolution, whether I have overrated the dangers attendant on such a spirit of vengeance in the rear of an army. I would ask whether the most powerful regular force in their front would not annoy them less, than this spirit of vengeance in the hearts of a people in the rear of an army ?

Let us look towards Ireland, and we shall see this reasoning still further supported. Here the late minister by oppressing 5 millions of people, and using his best exertions to alienate their affections from the british government, has expended at least 70 millions to subdue a spirit, a statesman would have directed. Had the minister accommodated his conduct to this spirit of liberty in Ireland, which is but a portion of the same spirit which exists all over Europe, what expence, what embarrassment, what danger he would have saved to Great-Britain; of what a powerful diversion and alliance he would have deprived France in the revolutionary struggle! The one half of her navy which was employed to block Brest, Ferrol, the Texel and Cadiz, might have been spared; the vast establishment of 137 thousand men (1) to which the establishment of

(1) The following is the monstrous establishment which the conduct of the late british minister rendered necessary

Ireland was carried, might have been employed against France. If the minister had accommodated his measures to this spirit of liberty in Ireland, it would have been the last country in Europe France would have thought of invading; and now, such is the weakness that results from opposing this spirit, that with an army of 120 thousand men, the idea of an invasion of ten thousand French, creates the most lively alarms.

Those who reason from the times of Carthage and Rome, and of the present times from the times that are past, are utterly unqualified to give an opinion. By the invention of the compass, the press and the post office, commerce and letters have operated a diffusion of property and education which have brought us from the ignorance, superstition and slavery of feodality, to the learning, liberality and independance Europe enjoys at pre-

to support his system in Ireland, as given by lord Castlereigh in 1799.

32,281 troops of the line.

26,634 militia.

52,274 yeomen.

23,201 british troops.

3,200 artillery.

137,590

sent. From the slow but sure operation of these great causes, the whole fabric of despotism has been reduced to a few mouldering planks, while the privileged casts sit trembling upon the tottering ruins.

Europe was parcelled out amongst myriads of petty despots, who, in their fortified castles, governed their vassals, as they governed their cattle; sacrificing the industry and happiness of Europe to their eternal wars, brigandage and murders. But commerce has levelled these dungeons, civilised their keepers, and emancipated their vassals; she has not only freed the only class of people and the only species of property which was then in existence, but she has introduced new classes of people, and new species of property which have grown out of trade; classes unknown to preceding ages; and to complete her blessings, she has revived the arts, by which the rest are embellished.

Property is to the legislator, what gravitation is to the natural philosopher. Commerce has not only introduced new classes of people and new species of property, but it has broken the chains with which feodality and its laws of monopoly bound the landed property of Europe; and the feeble remains of these chains is all hereditary aristocracy has to depend on. The press, by diffusing

knowledge and dispelling superstition, has freed the European mind; the institution of the post office has given it circulation; and the glorious invention of representation, a blessing unknown to the ancients, extracts as it were by a chemical process from the crudities and fermentation of a cumbrous mass, the pure and corrected essence; without which the science of legislation and government could never advance to perfection.

Arrived at the point at which these great and operative causes have conducted the European mind, what power on earth can arrest its future advancement? Operating hitherto for centuries with uniformly accelerated velocity from darkness to light, from thralldom to freedom, what can render these causes inoperative, what can prevent them from continuing to act with the same increased acceleration? No, no, the current of freedom has set in with such force and velocity, it is impelled by such powerful causes, that it is lost hope and ruin to attempt to oppose it.

In France, these omnipotent causes have effected the total annihilation of every trace of feodality, given the freest circulation to every species of property, and dispelled those unjust, disinheritings laws of primogeniture, entails and settlement, upon which the hereditary aristocracy and European
slavery

slavery were founded. They have placed the destiny of France upon the broadest basis of equality ; not the equality that grows out of violence and plunder, but the equality that flows from freedom and justice ; the equality which flows from protected property , restored to free circulation.

The Republic stands broad as the soil and high as the heavens , and time must give it consolidation.

Champion of Europe, is at best but a suspicious and dangerous title ; but the interests of France are so clearly marked out , that they cannot be mistaken. France has no interest to oppress the industry of Europe : her interest stands not upon any relative superiority that can make her dread the improvement of the nations of Europe in the manufacturing art. France has no interest to join herself to any coterie for the support of the miserable remnant of feodality , that still loiters in Europe ; she need not seek to replunge all Europe in war and confusion to destroy any example of freedom that may arise in any neighbouring nation. In France, those great causes I have mentioned have had their effect ; and the great predisposing law that establishes this free circulation of property , upon which liberty is firmly placed , is in perfect

unison with the popular spirit which prevades the mind of all Europe.

No despotic government that is wise will make war upon France, while this sympathy exists between her and the popular spirit of Europe; and no people can expect that France, after the blood and the capital she has expended in her own revolution, shall find it her interest to engage in a war to accelerate the progress of liberty elsewhere.

The enlightened government of France will leave the progress of liberty in Europe to the operation of those great causes which have brought it to its present state of advancement, and the governments to the wisdom of accommodating their conduct to the popular spirit; whereby the waste, devastation and horrors of revolution may be avoided. Thus if France sets up for a conqueror or an oppressor, she must expect to create the most inveterate opposition vengeance can furnish.

With those who have not the patience to wait untill causes can work their effects; who think that every prejudice is destroyed the hour you destroy the cause by which it was nurtured for ages; with those who think to wheel a great nation as they would turn a curricule, it is impossible to reason. Their habit of body and mind has made them too much the creature of their sensibility and too little

of their reflection, to judge of the real political state of the world. But the man who does not see, even already, a vast amelioration in the state of the mass of the people of France since the revolution; the man who does not perceive a vast difference between France of this day and what she was at the destruction of the monarchy (a mere second in the age of a nation); and the man who cannot clearly perceive, that launched in the career of science, education, and industry, she must go rapidly forward, must be possessed of senses of which I cannot form a notion.

Where shall we find this same interest for the preservation of peace in the system ministers have set up for Britain? We have seen them subsidize every government in Europe to make war universal. We have seen them attempt to force the small states from their neutrality by the most indecent bullying and menace; and when all Europe panted for peace, we have seen these ministers redouble their subsidies to frustrate its wishes; and now have we not seen them recommence war alone; and do they do not seek by every species of intrigue to excite and bribe other governments to join them? When I would prove that their system is war, and that the late minister has destroyed every possibility of its standing upon a basis of peace, do

not all these acts I have cited afford confirmation?

Where shall we seek for the championship of Britain in the hands of these ministers? Where shall we look for the sort of spirit they have an interest in supporting, and with which they are in alliance? We must go to the miserable bigots in la Vendee, to the infatuated Mahometans in Turkey, the beys in Egypt; and is it not because they find it necessary for the support of their system that Europe is subject to the barbarous piracy of Tunis, Algiers, and Moraco?

When we behold these ministers persecuting the catholics of Ireland, sighing for liberty, with one hand, and aiding the ignorant, superstitious fanatics in Britany with the other; when we see them magnifying the dangers of Popery to excuse their oppressions in Ireland, and filling all Europe with their lamentations for the destruction of Popery in France; when we see them sully the arms of Britain by a junction with fanatic Turks, and sharing the horrors of their cruel and barbarous warfare; we have the measure of the spirit these ministers seek to support, and with which they are in alliance.

Who that examines this system that does not perceive it is founded in nature's spite, and in op-

position to the current of human affairs. While France glides with the stream, the british government attempts to remount it; while France has cleansed her soil of the augean filth of feodality, the british ministry seek to consecrate its miserable remnants.

How humiliating for a Briton to see his country at variance with every institution that has the appearance of freedom, and allied with every thing that savours of despotism. Despotism and liberty seem to have changed sides. Hollyroodhouse takes the place of St.-Germain. Pretenders, monks, jesuits, who sought refuge in France, now seek it in England; while patriots who found an assylum in Britain now find it in France.

Ministers! vain are your efforts; not all your expences, not all your intrigues, not all your wars, not all your disgraceful alliances, not all your persecutions, can change the order of nature. You may ally yourselves with ignorance, superstition and barbarism,—you can never revive them; *the same causes* which have brought them to their last breath, can never restore them. Your system is built upon a precarious, artificial superiority; upon an unjust monopoly; an impoverishing exaction; a degrading, insulting taxation of Eu-

rope; and I have, I trust, said enough to prove how inadequate are your means, how ineffectual are your efforts, and how inevitably the course you pursue must lead to your ruin.

Whether we see british ministers torturing, lashing, half-hanging the people of Ireland, — allied with the blood-hounds in the West Indies and the savages in America, — destroying millions by famine in the East Indies, — consigning the fertile plains of the Nile to the barbarism of the Turks and the Beys, and the country where Carthage once stood, to the pyratrical hords who enslave and plunder all Europe, — dethroning monarchs in India, and the champion of every pretender to monarchy in Europe. Torture and famine, blood-hound and savage, Turks, Beys, Vendéans, Pirates and slave-drivers!!! Is it in nature to form a more horrible medly than these alliances by which these ministers attempt to support the system of Britain; or one which goes more directly to perpetuate the barbarism, and to impede the civilization, of every part of the world.

CHAPTER VIII.

Of the grounds upon which the sinking fund stands, by which it is pretended to liquidate the debts of Great Britain.

AFTER having considered the instability of their ruinous system, we are naturally led to examine the hope held out by ministers to stem the torrent by their so much vaunted scheme of a sinking fund. But as in the exposition I have made of the resources of Great-Britain, the hopes to be entertained from this fund may be collected, I shall not have to dwell long on the subject. Since the day the finance of Britain has been taken from off the solid, sterling basis of gold and silver, and placed upon a basis of paper, all calculations made on the supposition that the finances stood upon gold, are as preposterous as they are falacious.

Since the national bankruptcy on the 26th of february 1797, every facility in the finances is a new proof of depreciation in the paper currency; and the greater the facility, the stronger the proofs. When the minister boasted in the budget

of 1803, of the facility with which the enormous revenue of L. 34,840,864 (1) was collected; and when he now boasts of the facility with which L. 12,700,000 additional taxes are paid; the most ordinary understanding must perceive that, he is advancing the most alarming, irrefutable proofs of the rapid progress which paper depreciation has made and is making. When we see the bank augmenting its notes by two millions from last february to november, we have the solution of all this facility in the finances; we see that the mines of Potosi, Peru, and Mexico, have lost all their charms, compared with the facility of the mines of *rag-fair*.

It would be lost time to enumerate the argu-

(1) Minister's estimate of the surplus of the consolidated fund for 1803..... 6,500,000

Charges of which the above is the surplus..... 25,590,864

Total of permanent taxes..... 32,090,864

Amount of the annual taxes, land and malt..... 2,750,000

Total amount of permanent and annual taxes for 1803..... L. 34,840,864

War taxes imposed 1803..... 12,700,000

TOTAL..... L. 47,540,864

ments I have already advanced, to prove that depreciation is the true sinking fund *where all the debts of Great-Britain, public and private, must find their liquidation.*

But let me suppose, *what is directly opposite to the fact*, that the finances of Great-Britain still stood upon the solid basis of gold and silver; and that the paper millions, which are now as easily collected as voted, were sterling, all that ministers have said of this sinking fund is directly disproved by the most positive facts.

The existence of a sinking fund depends upon the supposition that the taxes continue productive; and that after paying the interest of the debt, and after defraying the expences of the government, there shall be a surplus to effect the proposed liquidation. But what fact that does not go directly against this supposition? What one prediction of these ministers that has not been disproved the moment it was uttered? The whole events of the last century, the uniform progress of Britain, are one series of proofs, augmenting and rising progressively, in confirmation of unexampled extravagance, and against every principle of œconomy.

In physics, when a series of effects are uniformly seen to follow their causes, *without a single excep-*

tion, the world regards the results as so many truths that have been established; but by a strange perversion, british ministers call on the world to give implicit faith to the efficacy of their sinking fund, against a series of facts, the most uniform and constant that could be adduced. If on a vessel's springing a leak, the captain should assure the crew that he had discovered the means of discharging the water; and that after every effort, they found that six times more water came through the leak than was cleared by the captain's vaunted invention, what crew so credulous as to believe that the vessel must not go to the bottom?

After the American war, the minister found that the taxes levied in war could not be levied in peace: he lowered the taxes and the revenue was thereby augmented. In the late war he raised these taxes higher than ever; why conclude, that to make these taxes productive in peace they must not be lowered in the same manner? *This single reduction would more than annihilate the whole of the sinking fund* (1), to say nothing of the other diminutions in the taxes which a peace must occasion, from the cessation of the vast expendi-

(1) See note 1, pag. 82.

ture of government during war, and the sums that must be drawn from Great-Britain on a peace, by absentees, emigrants, transportation of capital, etc.

More, the average amount (1) of the permanent taxes for seven years before the late war was but L. 13,388,554; and even this was found oppressive and difficult to be collected, before Great-Britain had been drained of 223 millions of capital. What then is the prospect that 32 millions, the present amount of the permanent taxes, can be collected, after her wealth has been reduced by these hundreds of millions?

In 1792 the late minister gave a most brilliant description of the future effect of the sinking fund, (2) calculated upon a certain continuance

(1) In the year 1786.....	11,867,055
1787.....	12,923,134
1788.....	13,007,642
1789.....	13,433,068
1790.....	14,072,978
1791.....	14,132,000
1792.....	14,284,000
TOTAL.....	93,719,877
Average of these 7 years.....	13,388,554

(2) Pitt's speech, 17 of february 1792.

of peace, of which he gave the most positive assurance ; yet in a few months after , all his calculations were rendered ridiculous by a war , in which 360 millions have been added to the funded debt of the nation ; and in the few moments of peace , Mr. Addington amused the nation with a calculation of liquidation , founded upon I know not how many *ifs* ; but among others , *if peace should last half a century* , and before the ink was well dry with which his figures were written , he himself replunges the nation into a war , of which the expence and duration must derange his predictions.

Much praise has been lavished upon the continence the late minister has observed towards so tempting an object ; but when it is known , that the idea of operating a liquidation by means of this sinking fund , has been a mere swindling delusion ; and that the sole object of this fund has been to impower the government , by giving a quarterly cleansing to the channel through which the loans pass , to drain the nation of its last guinea , we cannot but smile at the simplicity of those who have discovered a subject for so much applause in the continence of the late minister ; but seen in its true light , it is in unison with the rest of *those virtues* by which he

has impoverished , enslaved , and ruined his country.

The circumstances under which this fund operates destroy every possibility of its effecting a liquidation. Its efficacy depends upon no part of it being applied to lighten the national burden ; and as the nation receives no immediate relief , every fresh burden is a new experiment how far the people of Great-Britain will be able to bear it ; and every experiment is made upon the supposition , that , as the nation is impoverished by the millions which are hourly squandered , she shall continue to be able to support additional burdens. It is not only that the ministers are constantly straining the cord , but that at the same time they thus violently strain it , they are rendering it weaker and weaker.

It is obvious , that every step they advance in loans and in taxes , is in the abyss of depreciated currency and bankruptcy. But amidst this redundancy of ruin of the affairs of an illustrious and industrious people , I have no heart to enlarge on the consequences which must flow from the war into which ministers have precipitated Great-Britain. — Like the rest , this project of a sinking fund stands on a basis of ruin ; facts the most positive go to destroy it ; and every assertion in

its support has been disproved the moment it was uttered. If what I have said to prove, that the system is of its own nature and structure a system of war, be entitled to any weight; if the fact, that of the century past one half has been war, be entitled to any notice; what hope can arise from a sinking fund founded on a fifty years peace? Or what possible hope can the british government have, that Europe and America will tamely endure for half a century, the system I have detailed without a struggle?

CHAPTER IX.

That this system, by creating a derangement in the natural direction of capital und industry of Great-Britain, is injurious to the people of England, as well as to the nations of Europe.

THE moral, which prescribes to the individual to make justice the rule of his conduct, and to seek his happiness by a strict observance of those laws which nature has made the condition of health and tranquillity;—the moral, which teaches him to seek his happiness in making the miserable passion of sordid self-interest yeild to an ardent and lively sympathy for his fellow creatures;—in a word, the moral which teaches man that to be happy, he must cherish an ardent love for his species; and look on this life as a game of alliance, where to gain the assistance and friendship of others, he must generously give the example, is as necessary for nations as it is for individuals, upon the broad principle of an enlightened self-interest.

It is in this light I propose to demonstrate, that however brilliant the career of Great-Britain may

appear to a superficial observer, the happiness of the great mass of her people, her internal security, and even the amount of her wealth, would have been infinitely greater, if, instead of her mercantile system of monopoly and conquest, she had adopted one where every species of trade and of industry was perfectly free, and where the most sacred regard had been paid to the independence of the rest of the world.

Leaving the advocates for the present system of monopoly and mercantile conquest to value the profits Great-Britain has drawn for this century past from her foreign dominions, at the most extravagant rate, the whole would not amount to the tenth of what it has cost her to keep and defend them.

The West Indies are cultivated by british capital in the most extravagant manner at present. A proprietor in France or in England cannot cultivate a farm in his absence at 50 miles distance by agency, without sustaining such losses, as have long rendered such a mode of cultivation, with men of good sense, in a view of profit, too losing a game to be adopted. The eye of the master is necessary at every instant, without which the temptation, the neglect, waste, and dishonesty, have been found too strong to be resisted.

If

If this be true of an absence of a few miles ; what must we think of the loss , waste and dishonesty which a proprietor must experience , who , residing in London , cultivates his estate in the West Indies at 3000 miles distance , by means of agents and by slaves , whose price , wear , tear and subsistence are at his expence. It is clear such a manner of culture could never repay the proprietor , without he was assured a monopoly price ; which monopoly operates against the people of Great-Britain , as well as against the rest of the world ; all this waste , extravagance , and dishonesty , instead of falling upon the West India proprietors , fall on the consumers.

If these Islands were free , their freedom guaranteed by America and Europe , and cultivated by resident proprietors , the greatest possible spur would be given to increase the quantity of West India produce ; whereby the people of Great-Britain might purchase the quantity they consume at a fourth of the price they pay at present. A few wealthy West India proprietors are the sole gainers , while the people of Great-Britain are made to part with four times the quantity of the produce of their industry , to be four times worse supplied , than they would be , if the Antilles were free.

In the same manner, the whole of the East Indies has been given in monopoly to a joint stock company, whereby all the waste, extravagance, mismanagement, plunder and robbery of its servants, at 10,000 miles distance, fall upon the people of Great-Britain, as consumers of East India produce, as well as on the rest of the nations of Europe.

If the commerce of India was free, its produce would come infinitely cheaper to the consumers; not only from the vast superiority the thrift and good management of private adventurers has over the waste and extravagance of a joint stock company; but as the quantity of capital which would be embarked in the trade, not only from Great-Britain, but from all Europe, would form a vast augmentation, the East India produce would come, no comparison cheaper to the consumers; the best management would be exchanged for the worst; the freest competition for a monopoly; and the capital of all Europe for the capital of a single company.

The whole order of political œconomy has been reversed and destroyed by this monopoly of the East and West Indies. It has been a preposterous attempt to encourage national industry by creating an extravagant price; whereas, by the most ob-

vious principles in political œconomy , industry is to be encouraged by creating the greatest possible number of effectual demanders : the one rests upon monopoly , the other upon the freest competition.

The interest of these monopolists , into whose hands the East and West Indies have been committed , is to keep the market understocked ; the interest of the consumers , which comprehends the whole of the people of Britain , is to have the markets the most abundantly furnished ; the interest of these monopolists is to get the greatest possible part of the produce of the industry of the people of Great-Britain for the least possible part of the produce of India ; and the interest of the people of Great-Britain is to get the greatest possible quantity of India produce for the least possible quantity of the produce of their industry. No two interests can be more directly in opposition with each other , than that of the monopolists of the East and West Indies , and that of the people of Britain.

It is not only that the whole people of Great-Britain suffer as consumers by this monopoly , but such are the inveterate , incurable vices which grow out of the institution of a joint stock company , that even with all these advantages against the

people of Great-Britain and Ireland , and against all Europe , the affairs of this company are every now and then at the brink of ruin; they are at this moment overwhelmed in debt ; and it is but lately they were obliged to throw themselves at the feet of the parliament , to save them from bankruptcy and ruin.

But assuredly, of all the evils which have befallen Great-Britain from this part of her mercantile conquests, the habits of extravagance, the habits of plunder, and the vast increase of corruption, in more ways than one, with which they have contaminated the morals and poisoned the freedom of Britain, are the most deadly, which strike at the root of those virtues and of that liberty, upon which every thing dear to them rested.

In forming a system to make Great-Britain the manufacturer for the rest of the nations of Europe, the whole has been rendered insecure and artificial; it has caused a violation of the order which would have been established, if her industry had been left to follow the natural order of things; and, as might have been expected, it has generated an infinite number of evils, and exposed her to an infinite number of dangers.

By means of this forced augmentation of her

manufactures, the agriculture of Great-Britain no longer suffices to subsist her population.

As a considerable part of her population is wholly employed in manufacturing for the other nations of Europe, according to the natural order of things, this part should reside in those countries which give it employment; for it is on those countries that, this part of the population of Great-Britain is dependant for its provisions; by which means she is exposed, not only frequently to suffer the evils of dearth, but to be menaced with the horrors of famine. Such are the effects of the vicious direction her capital has received from the laws which impede the free circulation of her landed property, and create a monopoly in commerce and an excess in manufactures, that, as this day, Great-Britain contains 22 millions of waste acres in common. Would it be believed, if it was not affirmed by the report of a committee of the legislature, that one third of the lands of this nation, of whose exports and imports there has been such vaunting, is without culture or produce? To which must be added, several millions of acres, of which the monopoly of land by the laws of primogeniture, etc. prevents the improvement.

A few years ago, before this system of mercantile conquest and this excess in the manufac-

turing part of her population had made the progress they now have, Great-Britain had corn to spare, and was a considerable exporter; now she is reduced to pay several millions annually for to supply her consumption. A few years ago, her most accurate writers gave the average ordinary price of wheat at 28 shillings the quarter, of late its ordinary price has more than doubled; and in 1795 it was 108 shillings, in 1796 at 100, in 1799 at 94, and in 1800 at 134. Prices for the first necessary of life so enormous, and attended with such famine and misery, as are alone sufficient to prove that this system is vicious.

It is to this derangement of the natural order of industry that, in a great measure, we must attribute such a rapid increase in the number of the poor in Great-Britain, that 6 millions annually are insufficient to provide for them as miserable paupers at present. (1)

(1) That all this indigence does result from this forced system of manufactures, is confirmed by sir Morten Eden's inquiry into the state of the poor of Great-Britain; where it is fully proved, that the number of the poor of those who are employed in agriculture, are as nothing compared with the number of those employed in manufactures; and that for the last 200 years the poor rates have kept such exact pace with the increase of the manufactures, as to

If the proportion between the agricultural and manufacturing parts of the population had not been deranged by this pernicious system, these deadly evils could never have happened. Those who live by agriculture, raise a stock of provisions for the year for them and their families; and if they chance to fall sick, they are not instantly reduced to misery and want; whereas if a manufacturer meets with any misfortune, which prevents him from working, or that his particular manufacture is not in demand, from this very moment he and his family are instantly a charge on the nation, or reduced to beggary and famine.

By this forced system, which aims at manufacturing for Europe, millions of the people of Great-Britain depend on the caprices and changes which take place in the surrounding nations; whereby, all at once, whole classes are deprived of employment, and, in full health, reduced to the condition of beggars; by which the poor and the poor-rates of Britain are greater than those of all the nations of Europe together.

leave no doubt that, the attempt to force this branch of the national industry, has been punished with all that misery and dearth to which we see this class exposed in Great-Britain.

When we see millions of british capital employed at 3000 miles distance to cultivate the Antilles , by the expensive means of agents and slaves ; at 10,000 miles distance in the East Indies ; and that no man finds it his interest to employ one shilling to cultivate any part of this waste half of Great-Britain ; who will maintain that this system of mercantile conquest is not as injurious to the people of Britain as it is to the other people of Europe ? When we see the people of Great-Britain dependent on America, and on the nations of Europe for bread ; when we see them year after year suffering a dearth , whence thousands die of disease , and even of absolute famine , and the poor rates at more than six millions ; who will deny , that this system of mercantile conquest and forced manufactures , is not as injurious to the people of Great-Britain as it is to the rest of the world ?

The labor and capital employed in agriculture are more productive for the nation than in any other way whatsoever ; but is it not always so for the individual whose labor and capital have been suspended. By the unjust and impolitic laws of primogeniture , entail and settlement , and the equally ruinous law of commonage of lands , at least one half of Great - Britain is without culture or produce. By the law of primogeniture , vast tracts

of lands are made the estate of an individual who cannot sell them, or even lease them, except for a few years. But it can never be the interest of any man to expend his labor or capital on uncultivated lands, where a considerable part of the produce is to be paid to another as rent, and on a term too short to enable him to get back his capital. No man will work that another shall reap the fruits of his labor; yet it is on this principle that the advocates for the laws of primogeniture and commonage of land expect, that men will expend their labor and capital. The only man who can have an interest to improve these waste uncultivated lands, is a small proprietor; for he alone has the whole produce to enable him, and a perpetuity to induce him; yet there are men who assert that, a tenant on a short lease, paying a considerable part of the produce to a landlord, is a better cultivator than the proprietor who has the whole and for ever.

On the same reasoning it has been asserted, that the produce of the lands of Great-Britain would be diminished, if the labor of an additional million of her population was employed in her agriculture. By which arithmetic, a million of sickly manufacturers, whose precarious existence is hourly threatened with beggary and fa-

mine , and when the nation pays annually several millions for corn , is preferable to a million of healthy vigorous peasants and farmers , who produce their own food and a surplus for others.

Thus , immense estates in the possession of an individual , immense farms in the hands of one farmer , are accompanied with the depopulation of the country , towns crowded with half-starved manufacturers , six millions for paupers , one half the soil without culture or produce , with more crimes , more executions , more prisoners , more punishments , and more misery , than is to be found in the rest of all Europe together.

Ill fares that land , to hastening ills a prey ,
Where wealth accumulates and men decay.
Princes or lords may flourish or may fade,
A breath can make them as a breath has made;
But a bold peasantry its country's pride,
When once destroyed can never be supplied!!! (1)

When we consider the hundreds of millions of her revenue Great - Britain has expended ; the hundreds of millions of debts she has contracted ; the blood she has lavished ; the taxes with which she is loaded in order to support this system of mercantile conquest and forced manufactures since

(1) Deserted village.

1688 ; it will appear as clear as the sun in its meridian , that the whole has been expended , not only for nothing , but to cause ruinous derangement in the direction of her capital and industry ; by which one half of her soil lies uncultivated , the most extensive system of poverty is created , and the nation reduced to a precarious subsistence. While so far from establishing the most lucrative trade with the Indies , by the mode she has adopted , the people of Great - Britain are made to pay four times the quantity of the produce of their industry for to be four times worse supplied with the Indian produce they consume , than if the Indies were free ; and so far from the other part of this war system (this excess from forced manufactures) being beneficial to the people of Great-Britain , it has deranged the natural proportion between the part of the population employed in agriculture and the part employed in manufactures ; whereby Great-Britain , no longer able to maintain its inhabitants , is dependent upon other nations for subsistence , overwhelmed with poverty , afflicted with dearth , and menaced with famine.

CHAPTER X.

What object can the british ministry have had in view, in precipitating Great-Britain into this war?

THIS question has been in part answered already, in the course of the reasoning which has gone before; but it is too important to be passed over, without a more full disquisition. That this subject should be perfectly understood, it is absolutely necessary to expose the nature and principles of the *secret cabinet*, whose invisible hand has directed every act of the crown during this reign.

The late lord Bute, who was the king's tutor, his minister, and a Stuart, first formed the plan to bring back the monarchy, by means of corruption, to the political state at which the Stuarts attempted to arrive by the force of prerogative, and the exercise of arbitrary power. What lord Bute commenced, Charles Jenkinson has invariably and unremittingly continued. These two men have been the only ministers of George III. They, in succession, have composed the *secret cabinet* which has alone possessed the con-

fidence of the king; and since his infirmity, that of the queen. Of this midnight *cabinet*, all the *ostensible* administrations of this reign that have continued any time in office, have been but the lackeys and puppets.

It is by this conspiracy that the late lord Chatham complained that his administration was constantly thwarted, and against which he inveighs in these bitter terms : “ The *secret* influence of an
 „ *invisible* power — of a *favorite*, has occasioned
 „ the unhappiness of the nation by its pernicious
 „ counsels ; has ruined every plan for the public
 „ good, and betrayed every man who has taken
 „ a responsible office ; there is no safety, no se-
 „ curity, against its power and malignity ; all
 „ schemes proposed and approved of in council
 „ for the public good, have always vanished, on
 „ a moment’s absence, into air, into thin air,
 „ by the influence of this *secret cabinet*. I own
 „ I was credulous, I was duped, I was deceived,
 „ I found there was no *original* administration to
 „ be suffered during this reign. A long train of in-
 „ sidious practices have at length convinced me,
 „ that there is something behind the throne, greater
 „ than the throne itself. ”

This is the midnight conspiracy which has steadily pursued its plan to augment the power and in-

fluence of the crown, and to degrade, corrupt and destroy the national representation, the spirit of liberty, the freedom of the press, the trial by jury, and every vestige of that controul by which the constitution was protected, and the crown was restrained.

The arrogance and insolence of the late chancellor of the exchequer, throughout the whole of his *ostensible* administration, gave him the appearance of being a real original prime minister. Abundance of facts have transpired, to prove that he never was in the *interior cabinet*, never in the confidence of the king or Queen; but that he held his place as much at the disposition of the *Jenkinson* cabinet, as any servant in England holds his place at the will of his master. The popularity which his professions in favor of parliamentary reform gave him, before he was known, first recommended him to *Jenkinson's* notice; and his apostacy, the nature of his talents, particularly his versatility and utter contempt of every principle; pointed him out as a fit instrument to further the plan of this *secret cabinet*, to erect a complete Tory monarchy, upon the ruins of the liberties of Great-Britain and Ireland; while the most sterling proof that can be adduced of the innate love of the freedom of their country, that reigns in the hearts of

such men as Burdett, and Fox, and those who have continued in the ranks of opposition, is, that this *secret cabinet* has never regarded them as instruments fit for it's purpose.

If the public imagine, that the object which this *secret cabinet* that directs the affairs of Great-Britain and Ireland has had in recommencing this war, has been set forth in its manifesto, they will be grossly deceived. We have but to enumerate the different pretexts which have been published for going to war, to be convinced of their absurdity, *when applied to the ostensible object.*

1°. That the french government was preparing a formidable armament which endangered the independence of England. 2°. That the french government prevented british vessels from smuggling british manufactures into France. 3°. That the french government sought to procure nautical information of the different ports of Great-Britain and Ireland. 4°. That the french government requested of the british government to restrain the scurility of a few hireling scribblers, who sought to destroy the harmony which should subsist between neighbouring nations. 5°. That the french government requested that the french emigrants might be sent out of England. 6°. That the french

government said that Great-Britain alone would not make war upon France , but that it cherished the better hope that the british cabinet would harken to the voice of wisdom and humanity. 7°. An article inserted in a Hambourgh gazette. 8°. The aggrandizement of France. 9°. The voyage of colonel Sebastiani to Egypt.

The armament and the aggrandizement of France are the only parts which are intituled to one moment's consideration. The first is now known to be utterly false. And so far from France being aggrandized since the treaty of Amiens , the french government has ceded the immense country of Louisiana to the American republic.

As for the rest , when the british ministry make their own refusal of the most moderate requests of a neighbouring nation the pretext for war ; and when the most trivial circumstances for which the most ample satisfaction was given and accepted , are set forth in the most aggravating colours , it is obvious ministers have not published the real object of the war. Indeed their pretexts have been so clearly exposed in Horn Took's pamphlet , which has been published in France and Great-Britain , that it would be an unpardonable waste of time to discuss them. But though they are miserably inadequate to their ostensible object ;

object ; on an attentive investigation they will be found drawn up with considerable ability to answer the ends of the *secret cabinet*, which when developed, will furnish a full explanation.

It may be collected from a variety of circumstances, that M^r. Pitt did not wish to engage in the late war ; but finding that war was decreed by the *secret cabinet*, as the only means of supporting the sort of monarchy it had so long labored to form, and to crush the spirit of liberty which the eclat of the french revolution had roused in Great-Britain, Ireland and France, M^r. Pitt saw he must either abandon his place, or his country ; and, of all the unprincipled acts of his life, the choice he then made has been attended with the most extensive and ruinous consequences to Great-Britain. The experiment failed, and the french revolution has been confirmed by the crusade which was meant to destroy it ; while, instead of averting the revolution with which the system of the *secret cabinet* was threatened, it has insured it.

This *secret cabinet*, in the few moments of peace, has been struck with the dangers with which this unsuccessful attempt against the liberties of France has environed the monarchy it seeks to establish. It has seen that the finances,

calculated solely for a state of war , must dwindle away on a peace ; it has seen that the whole system of mercantile conquest and forced manufactures must vanish , when on a peace France shall have made a rapid progress in manufactures and commerce ; in a word , the *secret cabinet* sees that a national bankruptcy has been rendered inevitable ; and that the whole fruits of the conspiracy it has been carrying on for near half a century must be destroyed , if the shock was to take place in peace time ; it has plunged the nation into this war in the hope of finding a more favorable pretext for to carry its plan into execution.

Read the british manifesto *in this point of view* , and it will appear to be drawn up with all that malignant deceit and cunning which designates the views of the *invisible agent* ; nothing that could inflame , dupe or mislead the blindly prejudiced part of the people of England has been omitted. The refusal of the french government to suffer british vessels to force british manufactures into France , was adapted to inflame the whole manufacturing part of Great-Britain ; and even this has been heightened by representing the refusal as accompanied with an insult to the shipping and commerce of England. The request of

the french government that the british ministers should restrain the scurrility of a few miserable emigrants, and the lowest dregs of the news-paper scribblers, has been magnified into a national insult, and a direct attack upon the liberty of the press; and the hope expressed by the government of France that the british cabinet would hearken to the voice of reason and humanity and not undertake a war alone against France, has not been neglected to excite and provoke national enmity. While the alarm of vast armaments, the procuring nautical information of the ports of Great-Britain and Ireland; the mission of colonel Sebastiani; the aggrandizement of France, are all perfectly well adapted to fill up the measure of those abominable falsehoods and frauds by which the minds of the people of England have been prepared for this war.

Infatuated people! no sooner have you awoke from the delusion which has hurried you into a nine years war, wholly foreign to your interests, by which you have been brought to the verge of destruction, than you fall into another still more gross and more senseless. When you suffer what passes in France to excite all your attention and all your animosity, have you no dangers at home, have you no grievances of your own which demand

reformation ? Will you not see that the *invisible agent* that directs your affairs is the vile pander of despotism, and the sworn enemy of the freedom of Britain ? Will you not see that the hand which has stabbed your liberties in every part, now prepares and presents to your lips the chalice which contains the dregs of its poison ? Do you not know, that the same evil genius which has persecuted liberty with the scalp and the blood-hound in America, with fire and torture in Ireland, with fanaticism and civil discord in France, is the same invisible spirit to whose guidance you are now blindly committing the reins of the most unreasonable, infuriated of your national prejudices ?

The simplicity of the present prime minister has tended to dupe a certain part of Great-Britain, but with men of more penetration, the choice of such a man will appear the forerunner of the projected explosion. As a child has often been found the best instrument for a desperate act, so in the eyes of the invisible cabinet, this infantine minister has been preferred to put the last hand to the explosion of Britain.

Whether it has been planned to accomplish this scheme by a depreciated paper medium, or by defrauding the public creditor more directly, is not a question. But it is obvious, that the prin-

ciple object of this war has been to make a bankruptcy ; to give the appearance of its having been occasioned by the expence of defending the national independence ; while if it had happened in peace, it would appear what it is : — a bankruptcy which has been brought on the nation in support of a system , founded on the ruins of the liberties of Great-Britain and Ireland.

C O N C L U S I O N.

If all that was dear to me upon earth depended upon the sincerity of the counsel I should give the people of Great-Britain , I would tell them : Your whole system , as it stands at present , is a total derangement of the natural order of things. Remove all those obstacles which now prevent your agriculture from holding that superiority , which the unalterable decree of nature assigns it above every other employment ; render the circulation and sale of your lands as free as every other species of property , by annulling those laws which impede it. The whole of your system of mercantile conquest , and forced manufactures , are monopolies which extract capital from your agriculture , and act as bounties against it. The first principle in legislation and in political œconomy is to identify the interest of the individual with the interest of

the nation ; agriculture is the first occupation for the nation , make it the same for the individual ; you will then restore the proportion , which has been destroyed , between the different parts of your population ; you will assure your subsistence , remove the constant pressure of misery which now weighs you down , and dissipate the horrors of famine which one single bad season may realize.

Remove gradually all those means by which you have forced your manufactures beyond their natural state ; commit them to the freest competition with the whole world ; whereby they will rest upon the firm and stable foundation of your positive advantages , and will cease to be any longer dependent upon those thousand caprices and circumstances which now make them precarious. The idea of forcing them is a positive proof that there is some other branch of your national industry , which would otherwise carry a preference ; and that you sacrifice a more beneficial employment, for one that is less so.

Your whole system is founded upon the violation of one of the most obvious rules of political œconomy , whereby you are sacrificed as consumers, to the preposterous project of producing for the rest of the world. The end of production is consumption , and you have reversed it ; the object of all

your means of production should be the most abundant supply for the people of Great-Britain ; and yet the whole of your system goes to furnish every thing cheaper to the rest of the world than to yourselves.

The office of the manufacturing classes is to work up the rude materials , and to consume the surplus provisions which your agriculture produces ; whereby the whole value is realized in the price of the manufactures ; but you have forced your manufactures beyond your agriculture ; by which you have prevented the culture of the country, and increased the number of your manufacturers beyond their just proportion ; you have depopulated the one , at the expence of furnishing the others ; you have abandonned one half of your population for those miriads of horses , which this senseless project of sacrificing consumption, which is the end, to production, which is but the means, has introduced. One half of your provisions is consumed by your horses ; you are rich in manufactures even to saturation , but you are poor in men and in provisions.

From the same error of regarding production as the sole object of national industry , you have sacrificed your home and near foreign trades to the most distant round-about trades , and even to the

carrying trade; but your home trade gives most encouragement to your industry beyond all comparison. Cease to be abused by those vauntings of the amount of your exports and imports, five sixths of which is but carrying trade. Your home trade, as it should be in every country, is at least one hundred times greater than all the foreign trades with the world; but by a strange subversion of every principle of political œconomy, you have sacrificed your agriculture to your manufactures; your home trade and even your near foreign trade to the most distant round-about trade, which gives scarcely any encouragement to your national industry, and even to your carrying trade which gives none at all.

The office of foreign trade is to afford a vent for the produce of your industry, that production may not be discouraged when the home market is glutted; it is but an accessory and you have made it the principle. From an inordinate passion to amass riches at the expence of the rest of the world, you have reversed every order of industry, and sowed the seeds of endless diseases in your political frame; but industry, like the most subtile fluid, if left to itself, would have found its own level.

I have proved to you that your systems of mercantile conquest and forced manufactures, inde-

pendent of all they have cost, are as injurious to you as they are to the rest of the world. I have proved to you, from a review of your internal resources, and from a review of your relative position with respect to France, America and all Europe, and their relative positions with respect to you, that it was not within the scope of physical possibility you would continue to defend those distant and widely-extended dominions. I would conjure you, while it is yet in your power, to come to conditions with France, with America, and with all Europe, to establish a guarantee, the most stable, for the most absolute freedom in the East and West Indies. You can lose nothing, you must gain an infinity. At present they lead to your ruin. Restored to a free competition your advantages are decided over the rest of the commercial world. You will get rid of a sink of corruption; you will destroy one of the most fruitful causes of war, of debts and of taxes; and you will restore to your agriculture, your manufactures, your home trade and your near foreign trades, the capital and industry which have been diverted from the most profitable employments, to those which are the least so.

Abandon for ever this new system of influence, expence and prodigality, which has corrupted, ruined and destroyed your constitution and liber-

ties ; and take back your system of representative controul and rigid œconomy , by which your constitution and freedom marched for centuries towards their perfection. Trust me , your liberties are in more danger from the designs of the *secret cabinet* , than from the rest of the world. Corruption , mining of your representation , abridgement of your liberties , debts , taxes , and the augmentation in the price of the necessaries of life , have produced the worst effect in the national mind , and aimed the most deadly blow at the security and happiness of Britain.

Cultivate the closest alliance with France : you are the two nations which have done each other most injury , and from the relative positions you stand in , you are the two nations on earth whose mutual interest should lead you to render each other most service. For these eight centuries you have exhausted yourselves to desolate , impoverish , and ruin each other ; it is time a nobler emulation should stimulate the exertions and genius of two such illustrious nations. Let science , let the arts , let industry , be the future field for your contests ; where mutually exciting and mutually assisting , each effort shall benefit yourselves and be as useful to the rest of the world as your wars have been injurious ; where each hour as you mul-

tiply man's means of enjoyment, advance civilization, and exalt and ennoble humanity, you will convert those causes of illiberality, hatred, and war, into mutual admiration, esteem and affection.

Conciliate the hearts of the people of Ireland; you cannot purchase their friendship too dear nor gain any acquirement that can repay you for their defection. Abandon the short-sighted, mischievous policy of the late and present ministry, who have preferred the venal dependence of a few meanly corrupt individuals, who think they cover their baseness by reviling the country they live by betraying, to the affections of 5 millions of people.

The 600 years of unhappiness, oppression and misery which your ministers confess Ireland has suffered from Britain; the torture, the executions, and the horrid famines, which have marked your footsteps in Ireland with blood, can never be effaced by a mixed system of violence, corruption, and religious intolerance. If Ireland had been independent and free, upon a footing of amity and friendship, you would have gained in exact proportion as she advanced in wealth and prosperity; but by the system your ministers have followed, all her loss has been yours; besides you

have been put to more expence and exposed to more danger than the greatest gain could repay.

I know my country-men better than your ministers can know them. I have committed my life to the honor of millions, thousands have died, but not one has been found to betray me. Their unexampled good faith to each other in contempt of torture and death should instruct you, that there is not a people on earth whom the point of honor will carry such determined lengths, nor none on whom fear or compulsion can make less impression. Their hearts are as open to friendship, as they are steeled against intimidation or menace. Had your government profited by what has passed in America, had it let the people of Ireland choose their own constitution and government, had it treated them as freemen, as equals, as friends, Great-Britain would have stood in a different position, from the position she stands in at present; but, alas! enlightened self-interest is as rare amongst nations as amongst individuals.

The days when a few heroes associated in banditti of brigands, illustrious, if you will, for the genius and talents by which they desolated, enslaved and plundered a world immersed in ignorance, sloth, and confusion, are gone by; the nations of Europe seek to exchange the science

of destruction for the science which teaches the increase of comforts, enjoyments and happiness; they seek to place their industry upon the principles of political œconomy, which is in direct opposition with the system of tyranny, slavery and war, with its expences, its desolation and plunder. The most absolute freedom is the principle upon which the whole of this first of all sciences is founded; it is absolutely incompatible with despotism, and shrinks from oppression. Cease then to hope that Europe will bear with your system, which lights up the torch, and lets loose the furies of war upon every occasion. Cease to hope that Europe will submit to your system of mercantile conquest, your monopoly, your exaction, your degrading taxation. Cease to hope that your maritime tyranny will be longer endured; that the nations of Europe can patiently suffer that your single frigates, with unparalleled insolence, should blockade whole coasts, and the great navigable rivers of Europe, destroying the commerce and industry of the peaceable world.

Compare the profound policy and consummate wisdom which has dictated the cession of Louisiana; whereby a useless expence has been saved, and the germ of future dissensions destroyed between the two great Republics for ever. Compare

this moderation, this true magnanimity, with the miserable policy your miserable ministers pursue in every part of the world. They retain Canada and Nova Scotia, etc. at considerable expence, but to nourish the seeds of future dispute with America, without any possible profit. They retain, at vast expence, Gibraltar, a barren rock, without territory or secure harbour, or other inducement, but the wanton propensity to dominate and to alienate the friendship of a neighbouring nation. They retain Malta in direct violation of treaty, on pretext that it may eventually fall into the hands of the french; which may eventually lead to the invasion of Egypt; which may eventually open a passage to India; giving an additional proof how incompatible your system of mercantile conquest is with your own peace and security, or with the peace and happiness of the rest of the world. No nation was made to be the slave of another: the dominion which enslaves the one corrupts the other; till at length, both sink into a state of mutual debasement. Rome fell a prey to her system of conquest. Are Spain and Portugal more prosperous or powerful for the dominion of the vast, fertile regions they hold in America? Have I not proved to you, that your vast dominions lead to your

ruin? Abandon your system of corruption, your system of mercantile conquest and forced manufactures; remove those causes of war and expence which have overwhelmed you in debt, taxes and misery; establish a system of reciprocal benefits, and live in peace with the world.

Paris, 30 sh december, 1803.

FINIS.

T A B L E.

CHAPTER I. <i>Of the system Great-Britain pursues towards other nations.....</i>	Pag. 1.
CHAP. II. <i>Of the instability of the british system of mercantile conquest.....</i>	17
CHAP. III. <i>Failure of the bank of England, and its consequences.....</i>	29
CHAP. IV. <i>The system of corruption, its vast expence, and the general disaffection it has created.....</i>	51
CHAP. V. <i>The policy England has observed towards Ireland from the confessions of his Majesty's late and present ministers.....</i>	58
CHAP. VI. <i>Of the stability of the system of Great-Britain, as far as it can be destroyed by other nations.....</i>	74
CHAP. VII. <i>With what justice the British government can be regarded as the champion of Europe.....</i>	88
CHAP. VIII. <i>Of the grounds upon which the sinking fund stands, by which it is pretended to liquidate the debts of Great-Britain.....</i>	103
CHAP. IX. <i>That this system, by creating a derangement in the natural direction of the capital and industry of Great-Britain, is injurious to the people of England, as well as to the nations of Europe.....</i>	111
CHAP. X. <i>What object can the british ministry have had in view, in precipitating Great-Britain into this war?.....</i>	124
Conclusion.....	133

END OF THE TABLE.

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The present state of Great-Britain

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